

Grammar of  
PALESTINIAN JEWISH  
ARAMAIC

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# PALESTINIAN JEWISH ARAMAIC

## § 1. INTRODUCTION

DALMAN'S *Grammar of Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic* (Leipzig, 1894) opened a new period in the study of the Aramaic dialects. It separated clearly for the first time the dialects of the Targums, Talmuds, and Midrashim, and it supplied a coherent and correct vocalization of the grammatical forms of the Targum of Onkelos and of the related dialect used in the Palestinian Talmud. The vocalization was based upon Yemenite MSS., which employed supralinear vowel signs. The second edition of Dalman's grammar (1905), along with his dictionary (1901), supplemented and revised his early work, but did not change its fundamental character.

It was now made clear that the Targums of Onkelos (Pentateuch) and Jonathan (Prophets) were written in practically the same Aramaic dialect (OJ), somewhat modified by the influence of the Hebrew originals, and that the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim preserved the remains of another dialect (PTM), closely related to the former. Because of this relationship Dalman supplied the unvocalized texts of PTM with vowels determined for the most part by the analogy of the supralinear tradition of the Targums. In this whole literature he saw, with good reason, the best avenue of approach to the Aramaic speech of Palestine in the time of Christ and a valuable help to the study of the language and thought of the New Testament.

The origin, character, and variations of the supralinear MSS. of

the Targums have been greatly elucidated by the patient and extensive researches of Paul Kahle (published in 1913). His conclusions may be summarized as follows. The oldest and best tradition of the Aramaic of the Targums is contained in MSS. of Babylonian (i.e. Mesopotamian) origin. The Yemenite MSS. represent this tradition modified by the principles of the school of Tiberias in Palestine. The measure of Palestinian influence increased as time went on, so that the older Yemenite MSS. are nearer to the Babylonian tradition than the later. The sublinear vocalization of Berliner's edition of Onkelos goes back ultimately to a MS. which used the supralinear system. The forms of Berliner's edition are not real Aramaic forms, but through them we may reach a supralinear tradition similar to that of the MSS. which employ a supralinear vocalization.

The texts of PTM are to a large extent stories written in a simple popular style. The language, according to Dalman, is that of Galilee in the third and fourth centuries A.D. Part of what is contained in the Midrashim may be dated as late as the sixth century. There are some differences of vocabulary between the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, but no very obvious differences of grammar. The Aramaic of these Targums has a more literary character than the language of the Galilean stories, and is supposed to have been moulded first in Judea. The Targums themselves may not have received their final literary form before the fifth century, but the idiom in which they are written probably goes back at least to the second century and perhaps earlier. Dalman's interpretation of the phraseology of the New Testament in the light of Aramaic usage proceeds on the view that we have in OJ and PTM, respectively, close approximations to the literary and popular forms of the language of Palestine in the time of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See especially Dalman's *Words of Jesus*, Introduction, section viii. The most recent attempt to show the influence of Aramaic upon a NT writer is

## § 2.<sup>1</sup> ORTHOGRAPHY

1. In unvocalized texts (PTM) א, ה, ו, and י are freely used to indicate vowels. Waw and yodh frequently denote short vowels, as well as long vowels. Typical examples are: מִלָּה = מילה, אִינוּן = אינון, מִקְטָל = מקטל, עִגְלָא = עיגלא, אִתִּין = איתין, אִתִּילִיד = איתיליד, חֲפָא or חָפָא = חומא, כּוּלִּיה = כוליה, גּוּבְרָא = גוברא, אִתִּילִיד. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of segholate nouns (עִגְלָא) and the preformative vowel of verbal reflexives (אִתִּילִיד) are commonly indicated in this way. The insertion of vowel signs into texts originally unvocalized accounts for the existence of forms like אִינוּן, מִקְטָל, &c. In unvocalized texts וו and יי may be written for consonantal waw and yodh in the middle of a word (e.g. לִילּוּן = לילון), and יי for diphthongal *ai* or for י pronounced as a double consonant, with daghesh (e.g. קִיִּים = קיים). א and ה both represent a final long vowel, especially *ā*. In PTM and OJ א is the more commonly used. In OTA א is preferred in some cases, e.g. to represent the emphatic ending א (§ 8), ה in other cases, e.g. in the feminine termination ה. In מֵאן (who?) and עָאֵל (he entered) א denotes the short *ā*, in order to distinguish these words from the prepositions מֵן and עַל. But מֵן and עַל are generally used. Final diphthongal *ai* is often denoted by אי.

2. The punctuation of the MSS. of Babylonian origin published by Kahle is by no means uniform, varying through several stages from a quite simple system to one which is highly complex. The system of the Yemenite MSS. is a variation of the simple Babylonian system, and the resemblances and differences of these two are, principally, what is explained in the following notes.

C. F. Burney's *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922). It gives a most valuable synopsis of the Aramaic idioms and constructions which may be looked for in the Greek of NT.

<sup>1</sup> This section may be omitted when the grammar is being read for the first time. A knowledge of the ordinary Hebrew alphabet is presupposed.

3. In the simple Babylonian punctuation there are signs for daghesh (a supralinear ך or ם) and raphe (supralinear ם or ף), which, however, are seldom used (Kahle, p. 167). Some Yemenite MSS. do not employ daghesh at all (as in Merx, pp. 57 ff.), others regularly use the Palestinian sign (so in Judges and Joshua as edited by Praetorius). The supralinear MSS. of OTA in Strack occasionally exhibit the Babylonian signs for daghesh (Dan. 4. 24, 5. 8, 12, &c.) and raphe (Dan. 5. 7, 12).

4. The supralinear punctuation at first had no sign equivalent to the Palestinian silent shewa. Some Babylonian MSS., however, which use a complex system of punctuation, employ the sign for vocal shewa ambiguously as in the Palestinian system. In Yemenite MSS. the shewa sign usually represents only vocal shewa, although in some few cases it may represent Palestinian silent shewa also.

5. Pathah furtive is seldom represented in either the Babylonian or the Yemenite MSS., but was, presumably, pronounced in the positions indicated by the Palestinian tradition, and so may be introduced into a sublinear transliteration of the supralinear signs. The suffix ם׃ (§ 4) is, however, to be excepted from this treatment, in accordance with the analogy of OTA.

6. The following vowel signs are used in the supralinear system of the simplest type :

Qameṣ	.	.	˘	Ḥolem	.	.	.	˙
Pathah and seghol	˘			Shureq	.	.	.	˙
Ṣere	.	.	.	Vocal shewa	.	.	.	˘
Ḥireq	.	.	.	(including ḥatephs)				

The first six of these signs denote regularly both long vowels and short vowels. Qameṣ at first had only the sound of *ā* in 'psalm' (approximately), not that of *ā* in 'ball', and ḥolem represented both Palestinian *ō* and Palestinian ḥolem. The later Yemenite MSS., however, use qameṣ for *ō*, so that, at different



periods, both  $\text{בֿ}$  and  $\text{בֿֿ}$  were pronounced as Hebrew  $\text{בֿֿֿ}$ . No distinction is made in the representation of pathah and seghol, although, presumably, both sounds were used in actual speech. In transliterating the supralinear pathah into sublinear writing, the analogy of OTA and of Hebrew will determine our choice between sublinear pathah and sublinear seghol.

7. In Babylonian and sporadically in Yemenite MSS., pathah is used for ḥaṭeph pathah, following  $\text{א}$  and  $\text{ע}$  and sometimes following  $\text{ה}$  and  $\text{ח}$  (e.g.  $\text{אֶמֶר}$  for  $\text{אֶמֶר}$ ,  $\text{אֶעֱבִיד}$  for  $\text{אֶעֱבִיד}$ ). This usage occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Dan. 3. 12, 3. 13, 4. 28, 4. 29), but not consistently (Dan. 4. 32  $\text{עֲבַדְתָּ}$ , 5. 5  $\text{שָׁעַתָּה}$ ).

8. Some supralinear MSS. have forms like  $\text{אִירְהִים}$ ,  $\text{אִילְהָא}$ ,  $\text{אִינֶש}$  (= Hebrew  $\text{אֱלֹהִים}$ ,  $\text{אֱלֹהִים}$ ,  $\text{אֱנוֹשׁ}$ ), instead of forms commencing with  $\text{אֶ}$  or  $\text{אֵ}$ . It is possible that this orthography represents an alternative pronunciation of the words in question, but more likely that yodh, with šere, simply represented  $\text{...}$ , just as pathah stood for  $\text{...}$ . Similarly  $\text{נִיצְלִי}$  (*Chrest.* 29. 21) was neither a phonetic variant nor a grammatical equivalent of  $\text{נִצְלִי}$  (1 plur. impf. Pael), but was, originally, precisely the same word, differently spelled. This use of yodh (with šere) to denote vocal shewa occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA, and it throws fresh light on the Hebrew forms referred to in Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 23 h ( $\text{אֲזֹר} = \text{אֲזֹר}$ ).

9. Some supralinear MSS. write  $\text{׳}$  instead of  $\text{׳ֿ}$ , especially at the beginning of words, but also in other cases (e.g. in  $\text{דִּירִי} = \text{דִּירִי}$ , Deut. 9. 28—Kahle, p. 14). This alternative orthography may also be understood to imply an alternative pronunciation— $\text{y}^{\text{h}}$  or  $\text{z}$  (cf. Syriac)—but it should rather be regarded as an alternative way of representing the sound that is usually written as vocal shewa.

10. Ḥaṭeph games is sometimes explicitly written in Yemenite MSS., especially in those of later date and especially in certain words, such as  $\text{קָדֶם}$ .

11. With the exceptions already noted, the ḥaṭeph of the sub-

linear system are not specially represented in the supralinear writing. Still the distinctive sounds of the ḥaṭeph were no doubt employed by those who wrote the supralinear system. The forms ו (and) and ׀ (who, which), which are used before certain consonants followed by vocal shewa, may be taken as proof that these following consonants were pronounced with ḥaṭeph pathah. Ḥaṭeph may therefore be employed in transliterating the supralinear into the sublinear system.

12. In Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack) ו is the form of the conjunction 'and' before words commencing with a consonant followed by vocal shewa (Dan. 3. 21, 4. 29, 5. 20, 6. 5, 6. 17), even when that following consonant is כ, מ, or נ (Dan. 5. 11, 6. 11). Before כ, מ, and נ not followed by vocal shewa, the form of the conjunction is ו, implicitly, at least, since the vowel is generally not explicitly represented. In the Yemenite MSS. of OJ ו is used in all these cases, as in sublinear Hebrew texts (so in Praetorius's edition of Joshua and Judges and in Berliner's *Onkelos*).

13. When the initial consonant of a word is followed by vocal shewa simple, the supralinear punctuation does not indicate its presence if it is preceded by the conjunction ו or ו (Gen. 1. 10, 1. 17, Judg. 1. 17, 1. 22, Dan. 3. 21, 5. 11, 6. 17, &c.). This may imply that the vocal shewa in these cases, as in Hebrew לְקַטֵּל and וְהָיָה, was no longer pronounced (so Dalman, p. 240). Some MSS. treat words that commence with ה and ה in the same way so that, for example, וְהָיָה may perhaps be an alternative for וְהָיָה (cf. Heb. לְהַפִּיר).

In the Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack), however, vocal shewa following an initial consonant is frequently unrepresented in writing, especially in association with particular forms or words, such as the particles כ, כ, ל, and ו. This implies that the absence of the sign of a hurried vowel (vocal shewa) is not a certain proof of its absence in speech, and makes

any conclusion regarding the case of the preceding paragraph uncertain.

14. In OTA the diphthong *ai* causes mutation, like a simple vowel, and silent shewa is written after the yodh of the diphthong (e.g. in בִּיתָהּ, הָיִיתָ, הָיִיתִי). Compare also, perhaps, קִרְמִיתָא (§ 11, note 12) and מְנִיחִיכִי (Ps. 116. 7, in the Hebrew Psalter). These analogies may be allowed to determine the sublinear vocalization of OJ and PTM in such words as הָיִידִין (§ 6), עֲבָרִיתָא (§ 11, note 7), אִיתִי (§ 31), and the pronominal suffixes יְכִי and יְהָא (§ 13).

### § 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (nominative forms)

PTM		OJ		
PLUR.	SING.	PLUR.	SING.	
אַנְן	אַנָּא	(נְחִנָּא) אַנְחִנָּא	אַנָּא	1 com.
אַתּוֹן	(אַתָּה) אַתָּ	אַתּוֹן	אַתָּ	2 masc.
—	(אַתָּה) אַתָּ	אַתּוֹן	אַתָּ	fem.
אינון, הינון	הוּא	אַנּוֹן	הוּא	3 masc.
אינין, הינין	הִיא	אַנּוֹן	הִיא	fem.

**Accent.** 1\*. In OJ and OTA the pronouns of the 1 person plural are accented on the penultimate syllable. This is one of the few exceptions to the general rule in these dialects that the last syllable of a word is accented.

**Forms.** 2. The shortened forms אָנָּ, נָּן, and אַתּוֹן sometimes occur independently in PTM (cf. נָּשׁ for אַנְשָׁא and נְחִנָּא for אַנְחִנָּא). They, and אָ = אַתָּ, also coalesce with participles into tense forms (§ 21, note 7).

3\*. אינון, &c., are unvocalized spellings equivalent to אַנּוֹן, &c. (§ 2. 1).

**OTA.** 4. For the forms of OTA see paradigm, p. 92. The last letter of אַנְחִנָּא is א three times and once ה. אנתה is

a Kethibh form, always changed to אֲנִי by Qere, but pointed אֲנִיָּהּ by the supralinear MSS. in Strack. אֲנִי and הֵמָּה occur, as nominatives, each once only.

**Idioms.** 5. The expressions הָהוּא גִבֹּרָא ('a certain man', § 5, note 12) and הָהוּא אֲתִתָּא are used by PTM in modesty for אֲנִי (cf. Hebrew עֲבִדְךָ) and in curses or protestations for אֲתָּ. In polite address, for אֲתָּ, OJ uses רַבּוּנִי and רַבּוּנִי and PTM מָרִי, מָרָן, מָרִי and רַבִּנִּי (cf. Hebrew אֲדֹנָי).

6. For 'he himself', &c., see § 4, note 6.

#### § 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (suffix forms)

PTM	OJ	OJ, PTM
PLUR.	PLUR.	SING.
אֲנִי	אֲנִי <sup>1</sup>	אֲנִי 1 com.
בּוֹנִי	בּוֹנִי	בּוֹנִי 2 masc.
בִּינִי	בִּינִי	בִּינִי fem.
הוֹנִי, הוֹנִי	הוֹנִי	הוֹנִי 3 masc.
הִינִי	הִינִי	הִינִי fem.

1\*. These suffixes are equivalent to English possessive adjectives and to the genitives of the personal pronouns in other languages. For the possessive pronouns see § 7, note 4.

**Forms.** 2. The suffixes of the table are those joined to the singular stems of nouns ending with a consonant. In slightly different forms they are attached to verbs to express the accusatives of the personal pronouns (§ 36). אֲנִי (2 s. f.) and אֲנִיָּהּ (3 s. f.), used in the marriage contract printed in Dalman's *Dialektproben*, p. 4 (ll. 4, 5, 6, 8), are older, uncontracted, forms of אֲנִי and אֲנִיָּהּ respectively. See also § 12, note 2, and § 13. For the variations of OTA, see p. 93.

<sup>1</sup> See § 3, note 1.



3. Merx (*Chrest. Targum.*) prints קבליה in Gen. 2. 20 for קבליה and תחולתה for תחולתה in Gen. 2. 21.

**Accus. Cases.** 4\*. The accusatives of the personal pronouns are expressed in three ways: (1) by suffixes (§ 36), (2) by יתי, &c., (3) by לי, &c. OJ nearly always follows the Hebrew text in its choice between a verbal suffix and an independent accusative form. In the latter case it regularly employs יתי, &c., seldom לי, &c. For ליה and להון after particc. see Gen. 3. 15 and Exod. 3. 9.

In PTM לי, &c., are used as accusatives after participles (18. 12, 19. 5, 20. 11, 14, &c.) and sometimes after finite forms of the verb (16. ii. 9, 26. 3, 28. 15). A pronominal object after a verb is usually expressed by a suffix. יתי, &c., occur after participles (16. ii. 3, 23. 2), perfects (19. ii. 14, 21. 7, 25. ii. 5), and impff. (22. ii. 5).

In OTA the pronominal object of a verb is generally expressed by means of a suffix. But only the independent forms המו (in Ezra), המון (in Daniel) and אמון (Dan. 6. 25) are used for 'them'. ית with a suffix occurs once (Dan. 3. 12, יתהון), לי, &c., only with participles (Dan. 2. 23, 4. 22, 29, 6. 17, Ezra 5. 2).

**Ethic Dative.** 5. לי, &c., are also used as 'ethic datives', especially after verbs of motion. Examples: נפק ליה (26. 5), מדפקא לה (24. ii. 5).

**Reflex. Pron.** 6\*. In PTM the reflexive pronouns are generally expressed by גרמי, &c., sometimes by נפשי, &c. (Dalman, p. 115, § 13). In OJ the pronominal suffixes are used, in agreement with the Hebrew text, נפשי, &c., being occasional alternatives. In PTM emphatic 'he himself' is expressed by גרמיה, 'this itself' by כל גרמא דא (דא = this, § 5). גרמי means, literally, 'my bone' (for its inflexion see § 12, note 4).

**OTA.** 7. In MT גא (Baer, Ginsburg) is usual for גא, but cf. pausal גא (Dan. 3. 17). כם and הם occur only in Ezra, as alternatives to כון and הון. See Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I. 113.

## § 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

	PTM ADJECTIVES.	PTM PRONOUNS.	OJ ADJECTIVES.	OJ PRONOUNS.
this	הַן, הָהֶן, הֵהֶן, הֶרֶן	הֶן, הֵן	הֶרֶן	הֵן (הֶן)
	הָדָא	הָדָא	הָדָא	הָדָא
these	הֵלֵין	הֵלֵין, אֵלֵין	הֵלֵין	הֵלֵין

### ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS.

that	הָהוּא	הָהֶּ, הֶהֶּ	הָהוּא (הֵיכִי)	הֵיכִי
	הָהִיא, הָאִי, הֵי	הָהִי	הָהִיא	הָהִי
those	הֵינֶן, אֵינֶן	—	הָאֵנֶן	הֵאֵנֶן

**Forms.** 1\*. הָהוּא and הָהִיא are the forms of the Babylonian MSS. published by Kahle. הָהוּא and הָהִיא in the supralinear Yemenite MSS. are Hebraisms (Dalman). הֵלֵין (16. ii. 7) is pointed הֵלֵין in Dalman's paradigm (p. 397).

2\*. הֵלֵין, אֵלֵין, and אֵינֶן are the unvocalized spellings of PTM (§ 2. 1).

3. הֵרֶן, הֵדָא, and הֵלֵין occur as alternatives to הֶרֶן, &c. (e.g. 15. 6) and are cited by Dalman (p. 111), but are held by him to be incorrect forms (p. 120).

4. PTM has a number of forms such as הָהֵן and הָהֵן (28. 24) in which ה alternates with ה. It also frequently uses contracted forms (הָהֵן, הָהֵן, &c.). הֵן and הֶרֶן coalesce with a following הוּא into הֵינֵן and הֵינֵן. ה, כ, ו join with הָהֵן into הָהֵן, הָהֵן, הָהֵן (Dalman, p. 112).

**OTA.** 5. For OTA forms see paradigm (p. 92). הָהֵן for 'those' (Dan. 2. 44) and הֵלֵין for 'these' (Ezra 5. 15) occur each once only. הֵן 'that' is both masculine (once) and feminine (twice). In OTA the same forms are used, without distinction, as adjectives and pronouns. See also notes 10 and 14.

**Special usages.** 6.  $\text{הַזֶּה}$  occurs in PTM as an enclitic particle following interrogative pronouns (Dalman, *Grammar*, pp. 111 and 224). In OJ it is similarly used to translate  $\text{זֶה}$  after  $\text{לָמָּה}$  (Gen. 25. 22) and also for  $\text{זֶה}$  associated with a numeral (Gen. 27. 36, Judg. 16. 15).  $\text{הַזֶּה}$  is sometimes used by OJ as a translation of Hebrew  $\text{כֵּן}$  (Gen. 45. 9, Exod. 3. 14 f., 5. 10, 7. 26, Josh. 24. 2, Judg. 11. 15, 2 Kings 19. 20).

7\*.  $\text{הַיְּכִי}$  is usually equivalent to  $\text{הַלְלוּהָ}$  (Judg. 6. 20, &c.) and seldom occurs otherwise (Gen. 27. 33). The pronoun 'that' in OJ is also expressed by  $\text{הוּא}$  (Gen. 2. 19, 41. 28, 42. 14, Exod. 16. 23, Amos 7. 6), which might, therefore, properly be included in the table.

**Syntax.** 8\*. OJ generally distinguishes between adjective and pronoun forms. Exceptions are: (a)  $\text{הַיְּכִי}$ , (b)  $\text{הַיֵּן}$  instead of  $\text{הַיֵּין}$ , after a noun with a pronominal suffix attached, under the influence of the Hebrew text (Exod. 10. 1, Josh. 2. 20, Judg. 6. 14), (c) the phrase  $\text{הַיֵּן יוֹמָא} = \text{הַיּוֹם}$  'to-day' (cf.  $\text{הַיֵּן יוֹמָא}$  'this day'), (d)  $\text{כְּהַרְדָּא}$  (Judg. 13. 23, 15. 7).

9. In PTM  $\text{הַהוּא}$  generally serves as the pronoun 'that' (16. ii. 11 and 13, 18. ii. 3) and other singular adjective forms are also freely used as pronouns (15. 6, 16. ii. 12, 28. 24).

On the other hand, pronoun forms are used as adjectives (18. ii. 10 and 11— $\text{הַיֵּן}$ , 28. 13— $\text{הַיֵּין}$ ).  $\text{הַיֵּין}$ , in particular, occurs more often than  $\text{הַיֵּן}$  as an adjective (16. ii. 10, 17. ii. 8, 20. 21, 24. ii. 1).

10\*. In PTM a demonstrative nearly always stands before its associated noun (two exceptions in *Chrest.* 20. 12 and 21. 15 are both from the same narrative). In OJ the influence of the Hebrew text has established the rule that demonstratives follow the nouns they qualify. Exceptions agree with the order of the Hebrew text (Gen. 2. 23, Judg. 16. 15, &c.) In OTA a demonstrative adjective generally follows, but may precede, an associated noun (Dan. 2. 44).

11. Nouns qualified by a demons. adjective nearly always assume the emphatic form (see § 8, note 3).

**Idioms.** 12. הַזֶּה is used with proper names in the sense of 'the well-known' or 'the previously-mentioned' (15. ii. 2, 17. ii. 1; similarly 22. ii. 9). הַהוּא is sometimes equivalent to הַכֵּן 'a certain', e.g. in the phrases הַהוּא הַבָּרָא, הַהוּא יוֹמָא. הֵיךְ . . . הֵיךְ (and הַהוּא . . . הַהוּא) express 'this . . . that' or 'one . . . another'.

13. הֵיךְ with suffixes of the third person is sometimes used as a demons. adjective or pronoun, like אֵתְךָ, &c., in the Mishnah (Dalman, § 17. 8).

14. In OTA before a noun governed by a preposition an anticipative pronominal suffix is used in an emphasizing demonstrative sense (בְּהַזֶּה וְכֵן 'at that very time'). The noun is then in the emphatic form (§ 8). So in PTM אָמַר לֵיהּ לְרַבִּין יוֹחָנָן 'he said to this same R. Jochanan' (20. ii. 10).

## § 6. INTERROGATIVES

	PTM	OJ	
who?	מֶן, מֵאן	מֶן	
what?	מָה	מָה	
which?	הַיֵּידִין	אֵיִידִין	sing. masc.
„	הַיֵּידָא, אֵיִידָא	אֵיִידָא	fem.
„	הַיֵּילִין, אֵיִילִין	(אֵיִילִין)	plural com.

**Forms.** 1\*. For the spelling מֵאן see § 2. 1. אֵיִילִין happens not to occur in OJ. הַיֵּידִין, &c., are the unvocalized spellings of הַיֵּידִין, &c. (§ 2. 1 and 14).

2. In PTM הוּא מֶן contracts into מֵנִי and הוּא מָה into מַי. In OJ מֶן = מֵי (note 4).

**Usages.** 3\*. The meanings of מָה are: what? how? what kind of? and (with adjectives) how! מָה (לָמָה) expresses 'why?' and

**כַּמָּה** (כַּמָּה) 'how many?' Questions introduced by **לַמָּה** so often expect a negative answer that this interrogative acquires the sense of a negative (§ 7, note 7).

4. In OJ **מָה רִין** or **מָה רִין** renders Hebrew **מַה־יָּה** (Gen. 27. 20, Judg. 18. 24), but **לַמָּה רִין** is used for **לַמַּה־יָּה** (§ 5, note 6).

**Syntax.** 5. **אִידִין**, &c., are both pronouns and adjectives. Their associated nouns may stand in the emphatic form (*Chrest.* 23. 3 and 4, Isai. 66. 1), but not necessarily.

**Interrog. Adverbs.** 6. **אָ** (OJ) and **הָ** (PTM) = 'where?', **לָ** = 'whither?' and **מָן** = 'whence?' **מָן** (Gen. 29. 4) is also written for **אָ מָן**.

**OTA.** 7. Only **מָן** and **מַה** occur in OTA. Most editors, including Baer and Ginsburg, point the former **מָן**. In Dan. 3. 33 **כַּמָּה** (with an adjective) = how!

## § 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

**Forms.** 1\*. In OJ and PTM the relative pronoun is **דִּ** (uninflected). In OTA and in OJ compounds (**דִּילִי**, &c., note 4) the form is **דִּי**.

**Idioms.** 2\*. **דִּ** without an antecedent means 'that which', 'he who', 'those who', &c. **דִּ הָרִין**, **דִּ הָהוּא**, **דִּ מָן**, and **דִּ מָה** are also used to express these combinations.

3\*. **דִּ** before a genitive means 'the possession of', 'those of', 'those belonging to', &c. E.g. **דִּ גִּיְתִי** = 'the people of my house'. In reports of the opinions of the Rabbis, before the name of a Rabbi, it stands for 'the opinion of'.

**Compounds.** 4\*. **דִּילִי**, **דִּילָךְ**, &c., 'that which is to me', 'that which is to thee', &c., are the equivalents of the possessive pronouns mine, thine, &c., in OJ (cf. Dan. 2. 20). In PTM **דִּיִּי**, &c., are more usual. **דִּיִּי** may be a phonetic variant of **דִּילִי** (Barth) or = **דִּי + יִי** 'the possession of my hand' (Dalman).



5.  $\text{ל} + \text{ך} + \text{מא}$ , with suffixes, is treated as a substantive, meaning property (16. ii. 2,  $\text{מִדְּלִיָּה}$ ).

6. In PTM  $\text{דִּי}$  is a contraction for  $\text{דִּיהוּנִי}$  and  $\text{דִּי}$  occurs as a contraction for  $\text{דִּיהִיא}$  (Dalman, p. 98).

**Conjunctive uses.** 7\*.  $\text{ך}$  is much used as a conjunction,—of time (when), place (where), cause (because), purpose (in order that), and introducing subject and object sentences (= Hebrew  $\text{כִּי}$  'that'). Joined to prepositions it gives them the force of conjunctions ( $\text{מִן כִּי}$  = after,  $\text{עַד כִּי}$  = until or whilst).  $\text{כַּד}$  'when' and  $\text{דִּלְמָא}$  'lest' or 'perhaps' (Ezra 7. 23  $\text{דִּי לְמָה}$ ) are compounds with  $\text{ך}$  and  $\text{לְמָא}$  (§ 6, note 3) respectively.  $\text{כִּי בְדִיל}$  is used for 'because' and 'in order that'.

**Relative Adverbs.** 8\*. The relative adverbs—where, whither, and whence—are expressed in PTM by  $\text{דִּי הֵן}$ ,  $\text{לְהֵן}$ , and  $\text{מִן הֵן}$  (cf. § 6, note 6) and in OJ generally by  $\text{דִּי . . . תַּמָּן}$ ,  $\text{לְתַמָּן}$ , and  $\text{מִתַּמָּן}$  (cf. OTA  $\text{דִּי . . . תַּמָּה}$ , Ezra 6. 1).

## § 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (general)

### FEMININE.

$\text{טַבָּא}$

$\text{טַבַּת}$

$\text{טַבְתָּא}$

$\text{טַבִּין}$

$\text{טַבְתִּי}$

$\text{טַבְתָּא}$

### MASCULINE.

$\text{טַב}$  singular absolute.

$\text{טַב}$  construct.

$\text{טַבָּא}$  emphatic.

$\text{טַבִּין}$  plural absolute.

$\text{טַבִּי}$  construct.

$\text{טַבִּיא}$  emphatic.

**Emphatic state.** 1\*. The emphatic ending  $\bar{a}$  has a demonstrative force equivalent to the Hebrew definite article. The corresponding English expression may, however, be indefinite, e.g. when the noun is abstract (16. ii. 4, 21. 15, 24. ii. 6), or a generic word (Dan. 5. 1). Sometimes the emphatic ending has practically the force of a possessive pronoun (20. 5, where  $\text{שְׁנֵאִיָּה}$

= 'our enemies', 24. ii. 12, where 'the stick' means 'his stick' or 'a stick').

2. In PTM and OJ the emphatic state tends to lose its distinctive definite meaning, as in Syriac, but to a much lesser extent (14. ii. 1, 25. ii. 10, 18. ii. 2, 20. 12, 24. ii. 1, 27. 6, 25. ii. 3 and 9; Gen. 2. 10, Exod. 1. 8, 12. 20, Josh. 2. 2, Judg. 9. 36). In PTM emphatic forms (18. 6, 18. ii. 6, 19. ii. 3, 21. ii. 7, 27. 2) as well as absolute forms (16. ii. 6, 17. ii. 1, 29. 1, 25. ii. 3) are associated with the indefinite word ܐܝܢ, one. In OJ the emphatic state seems to be more often used with ܐܝܢ (Gen. 1. 9, 2. 24, 27. 38, 45, 33. 13, 34. 16, 40. 5, Deut. 24. 5, Josh. 3. 12, 13, 17. 17, Judg. 6. 16, 9. 37) than the absolute is (Gen. 1. 5, 11. 1, Deut. 28. 7, Josh. 9. 2). The MS. evidence sometimes varies and the printed texts even have both constructions in the same verse (Gen. 11. 6, Josh. 17. 14). In OJ a singular indefinite object is generally expressed by the emphatic state (Gen. 2. 8, 4. 1, 4. 17, 20. 9, 21. 8, 28. 2, 29. 2, 33. 17, Judg. 6. 26), rarely by the absolute (Judg. 6. 17). Emphatic forms are said to be preferred in pause (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 96, Lev. 2. 13, Deut. 26. 7).

OTA seems always to use the emphatic form in its distinctive sense.

3\*. There are a few exceptions to the rule that a noun qualified by a demons. adjective stands in the emphatic form (16. ii. 2). The absolute state is employed when the associated noun is accompanied by a numeral and a demons. adjective (28. 13). In ܐܡܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ (Judges, *passim*) the feminine noun may be regarded as masculine in form, and so as in the emphatic state. Cf. ܐܡܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ, Deut. 10. 10.

4\*. An attributive adjective regularly assumes an emphatic form when the noun it qualifies stands in the emphatic state (Gen. 1. 16, 10. 21, 27. 15, 29. 2, Deut. 3. 24, 11. 2; *Chrest.* 23. ii. 4; Dan. 3. 26, 6. 27). Cf. ܐܡܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ (1 Sam. 12. 22), but ܐܡܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ (24. ii. 13).

**Absolute state.** 5\*. Some words and phrases employ absolute forms in a definite sense (25. ii. 3, בֵּית עֵלָם 'the cemetery'). In PTM foreign words may be used definitely without the addition of an emphatic ending (16. 6 ff., 23. 4, דִּיִּיטִס, פִּילִי). Predicative adjectives are generally put in the absolute state (Dan. 2. 11), even when, in OJ, they translate Hebrew words with a definite article attached (Gen. 2. 11, 42. 6). A predicative adjective in the emphatic state may be considered to be a superlative (15. 8).

**Construct and Genitive.** 6\*. In PTM construct forms, followed by genitives, have only a limited use (17. 13, עֲמוּדֵי בֵּיתָהּ). They occur most frequently as the second member of compound prepositions (לְעֵיל, בְּנוֹ, לְסוֹף, &c.) and in stereotyped phrases which are almost compound nouns, e.g. בֵּית עֵלָם (25. ii. 3), בֵּר נֶשׁ (28. 11), פָּרוֹם עֲרֹסִי 'my bed-cover' (29. 15), מִטְמָעֵי שְׁמֵשָׁא 'sunset' (22. ii. 5).

Instead of the genitive construction PTM usually employs phrases like (a) בֵּיתָהּ דְּחַבִּירִיָּה, עוֹפָא דְּשָׁמַיָּא 'the birds of the sky', 'the house of his comrade', or (b) בֵּיתָהּ דְּאֵלֹהֵא, שְׁמִיָּה דְּאֵלֹהֵא 'the name of God', 'the house of her mother', when the expression is definite, and like (c) רְמוֹנֵין דְּרֵהֶב 'pomegranates of gold', when the expression is indefinite. In all these cases דְּ means 'that of' or 'those of' and governs the following noun in the genitive case (§ 7, note 3). Mixed constructions like מְלִין דְּחַבְּמָתָא (17. 15) and מְרִי דְּבֵיתָהּ (*Chrest.* 17. 7, Judg. 19. 22) occur less often.

7\*. In OJ the use of a construct, followed by a genitive, is general, although the constructions of note 6 also occur. Examples: (a) Gen. 1. 14, 25, 2. 7, 12, 22. 12, Josh. 1. 8, 13, 2. 2, 4. 16, 5. 1, and frequently; (b) Gen. 30. 20; (c) Gen. 3. 21, Deut. 10. 7—נְחֻלִין דְּמִיין.

8. In OTA the idiom of a construct followed by a genitive prevails—except in one group of cases, where the constructions of note 6 (a) and (c) are preferred. These latter constructions are generally, though not exclusively, used before or after and in com-



bination with standing phrases, such as 'treasure-house', 'house of God', 'book of records'. Examples:  $\text{בֵּית הַנְּנוּיָא דִּי מַלְכָּא}$  (Ezra 5.17),  $\text{אֲשִׁיָּא דִּי-בֵּית אֱלֹהָא}$  (Ezra 5.16),  $\text{אֲצַפְעֵן דִּי יָד-אִנָּשׁ}$  'fingers of a human hand' (Dan. 5.5). Cf. Ezra 4.15, 6.5, 7.12, 7.17, Dan. 2.14, 2.49, 4.26, 5.3. There are comparatively few cases of the use of these constructions as an alternative to a simple construct and genitive (Ezra 5.2, 13, 14, 7.26, Dan. 2.15, 19, 38, 41, 4.12 (= 20), 5.7 (= 16 and 29), 5.23, 24, 7.4, 6, 7 (= 19), 7.9, 10, 28). A considerable proportion of them seem to imply at least a slight emphasis (e.g. Ezra 5.14, 7.26, Dan. 2.38, 5.7 (= 16 and 29), 5.23, 7.4, 7 (= 19), 7.9, 10). 'The den of lions' is both  $\text{גִּבְּ אַרְיוֹתָא}$  (6.8, 13, 25) and  $\text{גִּבְּא דִּי אַרְיוֹתָא}$  (6.17, 20).

The construction of note 6 (b) occurs in OTA about a dozen times and the words governed by  $\text{דִּי}$  are then evidently in most cases emphatic (Dan. 2.44, 3.28f., 4.23, 6.25, 27, Ezra 5.11). Renderings such as 'the name of him who is (really) God' and 'the appearance of that fourth' are sometimes appropriate (Dan. 2.20, 3.25, 3.26).

**Accusative case.** 9\*. In PTM the object noun has generally no distinctive mark.  $\text{לִּ}$  occasionally introduces definite accusatives (15.11, 16.ii.11, 21.6, 7, 23.8, 27.6) and  $\text{יָת}$  does so rarely (15.ii.8). In OJ  $\text{יָת}$  is the regular equivalent of Hebrew  $\text{אֵת}$  and  $\text{לִּ}$  seldom occurs (in Gen. 3.17  $\text{לִּמְיָמַר}$  = Hebrew  $\text{לִּקְוֹל}$ ; for Gen. 39.15 see § 36, note 11). The old accusative ending  $\bar{a}$  survives in a few adverbs of place (e.g.  $\text{פִּתְחָא}$  'below'). For the accusative pronoun anticipating an object noun see § 36, note 11.

10. In OTA  $\text{לִּ}$  is not infrequently associated with a definite accusative. Possibly it has a slight demonstrative or emphasizing effect.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is prefixed to expressions for the true God (Dan. 2.19, 4.31, 34, 5.23) and the false gods (3.18, 5.4, 23; cf. 2.34), to words and phrases denoting the rulers (3.2, 6.2) and wise men of Babylon (2.12, 14, 24; 5.7), to the

**Inflexional endings.** 11\*. The feminine singular ending **נָא** is attached especially to stems that end in *ān*, hence **רִיקְנִיָּא** (Gen. 1. 2) and **פִּלְגִּיָּא**. Feminine plural endings *āwān* and *ʿwān* are used by some nouns. Examples: (a) **חִילָּוֹן**, **דִּירָּוֹן**, **בִּירָּוֹן**, **לִילָּוֹן**, (b) **אֶתְוֹן**, **אֶתְוֹן**—from **אֶת**, sign, and **אֶתְוֹ**, sister. Cf. **מֶאֱוֹן** = **מֶאֱוֹן** and **סֶאֱוֹן** = **סֶאֱוֹן**. See also § 10, note 21, and § 30, note 2.

12\*. The plurals of **אֶבֶן**, **אֶם**, and **שׁוֹם** are **אֶבְנֵן**, **אֶמֶן**, and **שׁוֹמֵן**, respectively.

13\*. The termination **ִי** is sometimes used when a noun is in the absolute or in the emphatic state. Examples: **יִמְיִי** (Gen. 1. 10), **חַיִּי** (Gen. 2. 7), **תּוֹרִי** (Gen. 18. 7). Such forms are specially frequent in the case of gentilic names like **בִּיתְאִי** (*Chrest.* 24. ii. 1), **מִצְרָאִי** (Exod. 12. 30), **חֶתְאִי** (Josh. 1. 4), and **בְּשָׁרְאִי** (Dan. 2. 5). Dalman compares, also, Γεθσημανῆ = **גֶּת שֶׁמֶנִּי** = 'garden of oils'.

14. Words like **בְּפִרְנִין** (Num. 32. 4), from **בִּפְרָ**, village, and **בְּנִתִין** (16. ii. 14) are examples of double plurals. For *ān* as a plural ending see Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 450 f.

**Duals.** 15\*. The only clear duals in PTM and OJ are **תְּרִין**, **תְּרִיתִין** ('two'), and **מֶאֱתִין** (200). But the ending **ִין** in words such as **עֵינִין** may also be a dual ending (OTA **עֵינִין**). In OTA (besides **תְּרִין**, **תְּרִיתִין**, and **מֶאֱתִין**) **יִדִין**, **רִגְלִין**, **קִרְנִין**, and **שִׁנִין** occur.

## § 9\*. CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS (declensions)

The following classification is made with a view to a statement of the rules for nominal inflexion, as given in the next paragraph. Six classes, or declensions, are distinguished.

names Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (2. 49, 3. 13, 22, 30; cf. 3. 27 and 3. 28) and to the name Daniel, when standing as an object by itself (2. 19, 4. 31, 34, 5. 23; cf. 2. 13 and 18). Almost the only other cases of **ל** introducing a definite object, in Daniel, are found in 5. 2, 22 and 23. In *Ezra* very few examples altogether occur (4. 14, 5. 12, 6. 7, 7. 25). In *Ezra* 6. 7 **לְעֵבִידָתָא** may be regarded as a textual error.

**A nouns.** Nouns originally disyllabic and having two short vowels are very slightly distinguished in Aramaic from nouns originally monosyllabic and ending in two consonants. The two groups are here joined in the A class of nouns, which is further subdivided into three sub-classes according as the characteristic vowel (used in the inflected forms) is *ā*, *ī*, or *ǣ* (OTA *ō*). The absolute forms, of which specimens follow, do not clearly indicate the sub-class to which an A noun belongs.

<i>ū class.</i>	<i>ī class.</i>	<i>ǣ class.</i>
	בְּחַף	דְּחַב originally disyllabic.
	נְדַר	נְפִיש originally monosyllabic.
קְשׁוּט	רְחִיש	לְחִים
בּוֹסֶם	עֵינָל	עֶבֶר
	תְּבִין	

In the *ǣ* class absolute forms like דְּנִי (Deut. 9. 20, Dan. 3. 13), בְּסִם (Exod. 30. 23), and בְּתַל (Dan. 5. 5) sometimes occur. In Dan. 5. 5 the supralinear MSS. give בְּתַל for the בְּתַל of MT.

Words of the *ā* class like לְחִים are בְּעִיל, טְעִים, חֲקִיל, מְלִיף, מְעִיר, and רְעִים (OTA בְּעִל, טְעִם, צִלִּם, and לְחִם, with עֶבֶר in Dan. 2. 49, 6. 21).

Some words have more than one absolute form (מְלִיף, חֲקִיל, &c.). In OTA the uses of טְעִם and טְעִם, צִלִּם and צִלִּם are perhaps differentiated by MT (Strack, § 8 c.).

יִירָף (Num. 5. 22) and יִיתָם (Exod. 22. 21, Deut. 27. 19) are unusual forms, perhaps at first only orthographically different from יִירָף and יִיתָם (§ 2, notes 8 and 9). The former belongs to the *ī* sub-class and the latter to the *ā* sub-class.

**B nouns.** Disyllabic nouns having *ā* in the final syllable and an unchangeable long vowel, or a shut syllable, in the penult, together with all participles (whose final vowel is *šere* or *pathah*) follow

a distinct rule of inflexion (see § 10). Examples: **עָלַם**, **אַרְבַּע**, **אַמַר**, **סָהִיד**. A small number of monosyllables including **יָד**, **דָם**, **זֶן**, **חָד**, **בֵּר** (son), and **שׁוֹם** (OTA שֹׁם) belong to this B class and not to the C class.

**C nouns.** Monosyllables from stems **ע"ע** have absolute forms like **עָם**, **אָם**, and **פֶּל**, in which the vowels  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  are frequently represented by  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  respectively (e.g. **נִשִּׁית**, **פֹּם**). Dalman gives **נִיר** (arrow) and **נִיב** (pit) as variant forms in the second and third classes.

Some words which are not from **ע"ע** stems follow the inflexion of this class (e.g. **פֹּם**, **עֵז**). In OTA the MSS. of MT read **פֶּם** (mouth), but the supralinear MSS. have **פֶּם**, in accordance with the analogy of **דֶּב**, **נֹב**, &c.

**D nouns.** Words which remain unchanged when terminations are added to the stem are principally disyllables with a long vowel in the final syllable (e.g. **אַנְשִׁי**, **שָׁלֵם**, **גִּבֹּר**, **עֵוִיר**), and monosyllables like **חֹר**, **יֹם**, **טֹר**, and **דִּין**. The unchangeable  $\bar{a}$  in the first group is equivalent to Hebrew  $\bar{o}$  (**שְׁלוֹם**, &c.).

**E nouns.** It is convenient to make nouns from stems final yodh or final waw a separate group. Words like **טָלִי** are chiefly substantives and those like **קָנִי** (OTA **שָׁנִיא**, **אָתִיה**) are participle forms (see § 30). Probably the orthography **קָנִי** (Gen. 12. 11) is equivalent to **קָנִי** (§ 2. 8).

**F nouns.** In this class are included all nouns with the terminations  $\bar{a}i$  (= Hebrew  $\bar{i}$ ) or  $\bar{e}$  added to a trilateral stem. Examples: **קָדְמִי** (or **קָדְמַי**, § 2. 1), **רִבִּיעִי**, **תִּמְנִי**. The long vowel of OTA (**פִּשְׁדִּי**, **רִבִּיעִי**, **קָדְמִי**) is also the pausal form of OJ (Gen. 1. 13, 19).

# § 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS (masculine types)

PLURAL.			SINGULAR.			
<i>Emph.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Emph.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	
מַלְבָּאֵי	מַלְבֵּי	מַלְבִּין	מַלְבָּא	מַלְבֵּ	מַלְבֵּ	A
בַּעֲלֵי	בַּעֲלֵי	בַּעֲלִין	בַּעֲלָא	בַּעֲלִי	בַּעֲלִי	
נִדְרֵי	נִדְרֵי	נִדְרִין	נִדְרָא	נִדְרִי	נִדְרִי	
נִהְרֵי	נִהְרֵי	נִהְרִין	נִהְרָא	נִהְרִי	נִהְרִי	
לִבְבָאֵי	לִבְבֵי	לִבְבִין	לִבְבָא	לִבְבֵי	לִבְבֵי	
עַלְמֵי	עַלְמֵי	עַלְמִין	עַלְמָא	עַלְמֵי	עַלְמֵי	B
יְדֵי	יְדֵי	יְדִין	יְדָא	יְדִי	יְדִי	
עֲזֵי	עֲזֵי	עֲזִין	עֲזָא	עֲזִי	עֲזִי	C
גַּבְרֵי	גַּבְרֵי	גַּבְרִין	גַּבְרָא	גַּבְרִי	גַּבְרִי	D
טַלְיָא	טַלִּי	טַלִּין <sup>1</sup>	טַלְיָא	טַלִּי	טַלִּי	E
	טַלִּי	טַלִּין				
סְנֵי	סְנֵי	סְנִין <sup>1</sup>	סְנֵי	סְנֵי	סְנֵי	
		סְנִין				
חֲזֵי	חֲזֵי	חֲזִין	חֲזָא	חֲזִי	חֲזִי	
עֲבְרֵי		עֲבְרִין	עֲבְרָא		עֲבְרִי	F
עֲבְרֵי		עֲבְרִין	עֲבְרָא			
בִּירְסוֹתָא	בִּירְסוֹת	בִּירְסוֹן	בִּירְסָא	בִּירְסִי	בִּירְסִי	

<sup>1</sup> The accent in these plurals was probably placed on the *ā* and the ending may be pronounced as *ain*.



**A nouns.** 1\*. Nouns of the A type retain or assume a monosyllabic form before inflexional endings. The usual vowels of these monosyllables are *ā*, *ī*, and *ū* (OTA *ō*). The mutation of the third radical of inflected forms in OTA—when the third radical is susceptible of mutation—shows that the preceding shewa is vocal (*a*) in the plural of nouns originally monosyllabic (מַלְכֵי), (*b*) in the singular and plural of nouns originally disyllabic (לְבָבָא, וְנִבְיָא). All the examples of the table above are treated according to this rule, although the Yemenite MSS. with supralinear punctuation do not indicate vocal shewa, except after a medial guttural, and even then not consistently (e.g. נִהְרָא, Gen. 2. 13, but נִהְרָא, Josh. 1. 4).

2. Under the influence of medial *p*, *b*, and *m* (labials) *ū* is often substituted for *ā* and *ī* in the monosyllabic stems of the first and second sub-classes, especially in PTM. Examples: גַּפְנָא, גַּבְרָא, רִמְשָׁא, רִמְשָׁא. The absolute form גַּפְן, for גַּפְנִי, may be regarded as a secondary formation from the inflected stem *gufn*. In OTA the plural forms of גַּבְרָא are always גַּבְרֵי, &c.

3. The vowel *ī* is also frequently substituted for an original *ā*. Examples: בַּסְרָא, דִּכְרָא, מַטְרָא, שְׁמִשָּׁא, דִּבְחָא; OTA וּמְנָא, בְּשָׂרָא, שְׁמִשָּׁא, דִּבְחֵי, נִשְׂרֵי. The absolute form דִּיבַח (Exod. 12. 27) may be a secondary formation like גַּפְן. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of רִנָּל is *ī* in the supralinear MSS. of OTA and according to the Babylonian tradition (Kahle; cf. *Chrest.* 15. 9). The MT of Daniel and the Yemenite MSS. of OJ give *ā* (Josh. 5. 15, 14. 9).

4. In the *ī* sub-class, nouns whose initial radical is a guttural generally retain hireq in the inflected forms. חֵלְמָא from חֵלֵם (dream), in the MT of Daniel and in some OJ MSS., may be due to Hebrew influence (cf. עֲגִלָּי, &c.). Hireq and seghol also interchange in the OTA group גִּשְׁמָה, גִּשְׁמָה, גִּשְׁמָהוֹן.

5. In the *ū* sub-class, when holem occurs as the vowel of the inflected stem it may be understood to represent *ō* (§ 2. 1). Examples: אִוְרָא Gen. 38. 16, קִוְבַּעִין Exod. 28. 40, עִוְרָא Lev.

11. 15 (Dalman, p. 144). According to the punctuation of MT there are three examples of *ō*-stems in OTA (Dan. 2. 37, 4. 12, 6. 20) and one of an *ū*-stem (בְּתֻלִיָּא Ezra 5. 8). Similarly the feminine חֲכָמָה is written חֲכָמָה in MT and in some late MSS. of OJ. In Dan. 4. 34 and 5. 23 the supralinear punctuation is אֲרָחָה, and the MSS. of MT are divided between that and אֲרָחָה or אֲרָחָה. In OJ inflected forms like מַעֲוִי (Josh. 2. 6) for מַעֲוִי sometimes occur.

6\*. In the supralinear MSS. of OJ nouns like בֵּית and עֵין, in the construct singular and in the inflected stems, nearly always have forms like בֵּית (Dalman, p. 91, note 1). In MT construct singulars are like עֵין and inflected stems like עֵינִין, although the supralinear MSS. often substitute *ē* for *ai*, especially when pronominal suffixes are joined to the stem (see Strack's note on Dan. 4. 1). בְּתִין is the plural of בֵּית. חֵיל is used as an absolute form (Exod. 32. 12).

**B nouns.** 7\*. The final stem vowel of nouns of the B class becomes vocal shewa when terminations are added to the stem. For some apparent exceptions see § 21, note 6.

**C nouns.** 8\*. In nouns of the C class the final radical is doubled before inflexional endings and the stem vowel is normally *ā* or *ī* or *ū*, according to the vowel of the uninflected stem (עָמָא, אָמָא, אִמָּא). Before final resh the stem vowel is lengthened in compensation, when doubling does not take place (hence בָּרָא from בַּר (country)). Some nouns put *ī* for *ā* in the inflected forms (פַּת, פִּתָּא). In OTA אֲשָׁא, from אִשָּׁא, is unique (Dan. 7. 11); in OJ אֲשָׁא (fem. absolute) is also used.

9\*. In OJ, although the stem vowel of the word כֹּל with pronominal suffixes (§ 12, note 6) is always *ū*, the emphatic form is regularly כּוּלָּא (Josh. 11. 19), pointed in Berliner's *Onkelos* sometimes with daghesh (Exod. 29. 24, Lev. 8. 27) and sometimes without (Gen. 6. 19, 20, 16. 12, Lev. 1. 9). In Lev. 8. 27 Berliner prints כּוּלָּא. In OTA the MSS. of MT always have כֹּלָא (five

times), and the supralinear MSS. agree (Dan. 4. 25). *Holem* in this and similar words denotes a short vowel (§ 2. 1). The reading *חֹמָה* (= *חָמָה*) in Gen. 8. 22 (Dalman, p. 145) is an alternative to *חָמָה* (cf. Berliner).

10\*. In the later Yemenite MSS. of OJ Hebrew *פֶּלֶל* is represented by *פֶּלֶ* and Hebrew *פֶּלֶל* by *פֶּלֶ*. In Gen. 1-2 (Merx), Josh. 1-2, and Judg. 1-2 (Praetorius) the only exceptions to this rule are in Gen. 1. 30 and Judg. 2. 15. In OTA, MT has both *פֶּלֶל* and *פֶּלֶ*, generally the former. Strack's supralinear MSS. (except G, once) either insert no vowel or read *פֶּלֶ*.

11. Plurals of the form *עֲמֻמִּין* occur in OJ, PTM, and OTA (cf. § 35, note 4).

12. Erroneous dissimilation of the doubled consonant of the stem takes place in *חֲנִינִין* (Exod. 32. 19), from *חָג* (cf. § 26, note 9). The form *חֲנִינִין* (Dan. 2. 46) is also a dissimilated form.

**D nouns.** 13\*. In this class the absolute form and the inflected stem are identical. The inflected forms of the word *שָׁלִים* (Gen. 6. 9) seem, however, to be taken from a stem of the A class (*שָׁלִים*, &c.).

**E nouns.** 14\*. When a termination is added to words of the E class the stem of words like *מָלִי* is either like *מָלִי* or an A stem, with yodh as the third radical, and the inflected stem of words like *סָנִי* is either like *סָנִי* or a B stem (see particulars in table above). In forms like *סָנִי* and *מִשְׁתִּי*, from *מִשְׁתִּי*, the shewa following the middle radical is vocal (§ 30, note 3). In *מָלִי* it may be treated as silent, on the analogy of the originally monosyllabic A stems.

15\*. *מָלִי* is contracted from *מָלִין* and *סָנִי* from *סָנִין*. Adjectives of the form *מָלִי* have contracted plurals of the form *מָלִין* (Deut. 6. 11). The only case of such an adjective in OTA has an uncontracted plural (*שָׁרִין*, Dan. 3. 25).

16. *פִּירִין* (Hebrew *פִּירִי*) is used in the plural only. For plurals in



*āwān* see note 21. Dalman (p. 192) regards the supralinear punctuation of absolute plurals like גִּרְיִין as incorrect.

17\*. When E nouns employ an A stem (as in מְלִיָּא) the vowel of the stem is usually *ā*, but sometimes *ī* or *ū* (OTA *ō*). Examples: רְחִיָּא from רְחִי, פְּתִיָּא from פְּתִי. The supralinear pathah of חֲוִיָּא in OJ may be interpreted as seghol, in agreement with OTA חֲוִיָּא (§ 2. 6).

18. Forms like חֲוִי, חֲוִיָּא, with consonantal waw, are unusual. Most nouns ending in י are feminine (רְבִי, בְּעִי) and are inflected according to the rules of § 11.

**F nouns.** 19\*. In the inflected forms of *ai* stems the yodh of the termination is consonantal and the preceding vowel (in OJ) is lengthened. Instead of yodh, aleph is often written (cp. § 23, note 9). The emphatic plural termination is contracted from *aiya* to *ē* (יֵ.. or אֵ..). The inflected forms of stems terminating in *ē* (תְּמִי, פִּירְסִי) are treated like those of סְנִי (E class).

**EF nouns.** 20. A few words from stems with final yodh are treated like nouns of the F class in OJ (Dalman, p. 156 ε) and OTA (עֲנִין, Dan. 4. 24, from עֲנִי). See also § 12, note 8.

21\*. Some words of the E and F classes have plurals in *āwān* or *ēwān*, with or without retention of consonantal yodh. Examples: אֲרִיִּין, פִּירְסִין, רְעִין, אֲסִין (cf. § 8, note 11 and § 30, note 2).

**OTA.** 22. The general rules for the inflexion of nouns given in this section apply to OTA. As the E class is very slightly represented there it may be passed over by those who begin their Aramaic reading in OTA. For these the most important notes in this section are 1, 7, 8, 13, and 19, along with 3, 6, and 9 for some details.

## § 11.\* INFLEXION OF NOUNS (with feminine endings)

PLURAL.			SINGULAR.			
<i>Emphat.</i>	<i>Const.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Emphat.</i>	<i>Const.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	
מַלְכָּתָא	מַלְכַת	מַלְכֵן	מַלְכָּתָא	מַלְכַת	מַלְכָּא	A
בְּנִשְׁתָּא	בְּנִשַת	בְּנִשְׁנֵן	בְּנִשְׁתָּא	בְּנִשַת	בְּנִשָּא	
אַפְרָתָא	אַפְרַת	אַפְרֵן	אַפְרָתָא	אַפְרַת	אַפְרָא	B
מַלְיָא	מַלִי	מַלְיֵן	מַלְתָּא	מַלַת	מַלָּא	C
מְגִירָתָא	מְגִירַת	מְגִירֵן	מְגִירָתָא	מְגִירַת	מְגִירָא	D
חַיּוֹתָא	חַיּוֹת	חַיּוֹנֵן	חַיּוֹתָא	חַיּוֹת	חַיּוֹא	
טְלִיתָא	טְלִית	טְלִינֵן	טְלִיתָא <sup>OJ</sup> טְלִיתָא <sup>PTM</sup>	טְלִית	טְלִיָּא	E
סְנִיתָא	סְנִית	סְנִינֵן	סְנִיתָא	סְנִית	סְנִיָּא	
גְּלוֹתָא	גְּלוֹת	גְּלוֹנֵן	גְּלוֹתָא	גְּלוֹת	גְּלוֹ	
צְלוֹתָא	צְלוֹת	צְלוֹנֵן	צְלוֹתָא	צְלוֹת	צְלוֹ	
מְנוֹתָא	מְנוֹת	מְנוֹנֵן	מְנוֹתָא	מְנוֹת	מְנוֹ	
עֲבְרִיתָא	—	עֲבְרִינֵן	עֲבְרִיתָא עֲבְרִיתָא	—	עֲבְרִיָּא עֲבְרָא	F
זְרַעֲיָתָא	זְרַעֲיַת	זְרַעֲיֵן	זְרַעֲיָתָא	זְרַעֲיַת	זְרַעֲיָ	G
מַלְכּוֹתָא	מַלְכּוֹת	מַלְכּוֹנֵן	מַלְכּוֹתָא	מַלְכּוֹת	מַלְכּוֹ	

## Aramaic of OJ and PTM

1. The stem syllables of nouns to which the feminine ending  $\bar{a}$  is attached are treated in accordance with the rules of § 10. There are, therefore, six classes of feminine nouns corresponding to the classes of § 9. In the E class nouns having final consonantal waw are numerous and several types of absolute singular are in use (see

Table). Abstract feminine nouns having an ending in  $\bar{z}$  or  $\bar{u}$  are treated as a separate class (G). The rules of § 10 sufficiently explain the forms of classes A–D and F, except those of the emphatic singular, which, therefore, receive special notice in what follows.

**A nouns.** 2. The emphatic singular ending of the A class is usually  $\text{תָּא}$ , joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples:  $\text{מִלְכָּתָא}$ ,  $\text{בִּרְכָּתָא}$ ,  $\text{נִשְׁמָתָא}$ .  $\text{תָּא}$  is added to the stem  $\text{קָטַל$  in the case of some nouns having stems originally disyllabic (parallel to Hebrew words like  $\text{צִדְקָה}$ ). Examples (from Dalman):  $\text{צִדְקָתָא}$ ,  $\text{נִדְבָתָא}$ ,  $\text{אֲדָמָתָא}$ ,  $\text{צִוְחָתָא}$ ,  $\text{חֲבִרָתָא}$ ,  $\text{פְּנִשְׁתָּא}$  (absolute  $\text{פְּנִישָׁא}$ ). Berliner's *Onkelos* gives  $\text{עֲנִלָּתָא}$  (Deut. 21.4, 6) for 'calf' (from  $\text{עֲנִלָּא}$ ), as well as for 'wagon' (Num. 7.3, from  $\text{עֲנִלָּא}$ ). The emphatic sing. fem. of  $\text{חֲדַת}$  (=  $\text{חֲדָשׁ}$ ) is  $\text{חֲדַתָּא}$ .

The absolute singular feminine of a stem originally disyllabic is distinguished in OTA from a stem originally monosyllabic by the vocal shewa following the middle radical ( $\text{פְּרִכְיָה}$ , Dan. 2.9), and this analogy may be followed in reading OJ and PTM (cf. § 10, note 1). In all feminine plurals of the A class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal (§ 10, note 1).

**B nouns.** 3. In this class the emphatic ending is  $\text{תָּא}$  and is joined to the absolute stem of § 9 ( $\text{אֲמִרָתָא}$ ,  $\text{יִלְדִּיתָא}$ ,  $\text{יְתִיבָתָא}$ —see under D nouns, below). But the emphatic form of  $\text{בָּרָא}$  'daughter', is  $\text{בִּרְתָּא}$ , and that of  $\text{שָׁנָא}$  'year', is  $\text{שִׁתָּא}$ .

**C nouns.** 4. In the C class  $\text{תָּא}$  is joined to the stem used by all the inflected forms.  $\text{מִלָּא}$ , like many feminine nouns, has plurals of the masculine form.  $\text{שִׁנָּא}$  'sleep', although not from an  $\text{ע"ע}$  stem, is inflected like words of this group ( $\text{שִׁנְתָּא}$ , &c.)

**D nouns.** 5. With unchangeable stems the emphatic ending, according to the supralinear punctuation, is usually  $\text{תָּא}$  ( $\text{דִּרְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{פִּקִּיפְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{שְׁבוּעְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{עֲבִידְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{בִּיעֻתָּא}$ ,  $\text{שְׁעֻתָּא}$ ).  $\text{תָּא}$  is used only with a few disyllabic stems whose final vowel is  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{u}$  ( $\text{נְנוּכָתָא}$ ,  $\text{שְׁפִילָתָא}$ ,  $\text{מַהוּלָתָא}$ ).  $\text{יִלְדִּיתָא}$  and  $\text{יְתִיבָתָא}$  belong rather to the B class.

Certain nouns, which might be expected to belong to the A class, have forms of the D type (שְׂאִילָתָא, שְׂאִילָא; פְּגִישָׁתָא, פְּגִישָׁא; נְבִילָא, נְבִילָתָא; רְבִילָתָא, רְבִילָא), although not exclusively (cf. נְבִילָת, Lev. 5. 2, and לְבִנִין, Exod. 5. 7). All have close parallels in Hebrew.

**E nouns.** 6. There is considerable variety in the inflected forms of feminine nouns of this declension. In the טְלִיא group yodh is always consonantal in OJ and the stem resembles that of the A declension. In PTM quiescence of the yodh takes place in the emphatic sing. (see Table). In the פְּגִי group, both in OJ and PTM, yodh quiesces in the construct and emphatic of the singular.

A few nouns have consonantal waw in the singular. Examples: רַעְוָא (Gen. 4. 5) and קְרִוָא or קְרִיָא 'city' (emphatic קְרִיתָא, plural קְרִיִין). A larger number have consonantal waw in the plural only. For the various forms of the absolute singular and for their inflexions see table of nouns above. Other examples of the group are טִיבִי, זָבוּ, רְבוּ, רִשִׁי, קֶצֶת. The rare absolute sing. of the word used in OJ for Hebrew עֹלָה seems to be עֶלָא (Isai. 40. 16). The construct is עֶלָת (Lev. 9. 17, Merx), the emphatic עֶלָתָא (Josh. 22. 23, Judg. 6. 26) and the plural עֶלָתִין (Mic. 6. 6, Merx). Berliner's עֶלָת &c. are erroneous. Cf. Syriac and OTA (note 11).

In all feminine plurals of the E class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal, according to the analogy of § 10, note 1.

**F nouns.** 7. After the diphthong *āi* the emphatic termination is אֵתָ, with mutated ת, but without vocal shewa preceding. Usually the vowel before אֵתָ is ē. Supralinear plurals like עֲבִרִיתָא Dalman (p. 79) treats as erroneous.

עֲוִיָא (= Hebrew עֲוִין) generally, and perhaps always, used in the plural (עֲוִיִין, &c.), is a feminine noun similar to the OTA masculine forms עֲנִי and פְּתִי (§ 10, note 20).

**G nouns.** 8. The vowel terminations of the singular are replaced by consonantal yodh or waw in the plural (see Table). The mutation of the third radical in the plural is a peculiar feature.

## Old Testament Aramaic

**A, B, and C nouns.** 9. The inflexion of feminine nouns in OTA is the same as in OJ, except in the emphatic singular of nouns of the D class.

There is only one OTA example of the ending **תָּא** in the A class, viz. **יְבִשְׁתָּא** (Dan. 2. 10). It appears in the supralinear punctuation of OJ as **יְבִשְׁתָּא** (Gen. 1. 9) or **יְבִשְׁתָּא** (§ 2. 6). Emphatic singulars of the B and C classes are **אֲנִיתָא** (Ezra 4. 11), **רַבְתָּא** (Dan. 4. 27), and **מִלְתָּא** (Dan. 2. 8).

**D nouns.** 10. In MT all words having unchangeable disyllabic stems receive **תָּא** as their emphatic singular ending (**עֲבִידְתָּא**, **שְׂאֵלְתָּא**, **גְּבוּרְתָּא**, **יְקִדְתָּא**<sup>1</sup>, **מְרִדְתָּא**, &c.). The two words having unchangeable monosyllabic stems, **חֵיוֹתָא** (Dan. 4. 11) and **בִּירְתָּא** (Ezra 6. 2), both receive the emphatic ending **תָּא** (for the reading **בִּירְתָּא** see Ginsburg and Strack). MT **שְׁעֵתָא** (Dan. 3. 6, &c.), although supported by some supralinear MSS., should be corrected into **שְׁעֵתָא** and included in the D class.

**E nouns.** 11. There are very few inflected forms of the E class in OTA. **קְרִיתָא** (Ezra 4. 12) and **עֲרִית** (Ezra 4. 14) belong to the **מְלִיָּא** group, **שְׁנִיָּא** (Dan. 7. 3) to the **סְנִיָּא** (גְּלִיָּא) group, and **עֲלִיָּא** (Ezra 6. 9) to the **מְנָת** group. **בְּנָת**, from **בְּנָת**, occurs several times with pronominal suffixes. **גְּלִיתָא** (Dan. 2. 25), from **גְּלִי**, is also a noun of this declension.

**F nouns.** 12. Before the emphatic singular ending, instead of *āi*, as in **קְדַמִּיתָא** (Dan. 7. 4), **רַב־עֵיִתָּא** (Dan. 7. 19), some MSS. read *āi* (cf. note 7). Shewa after *āi* is silent (note 7) in spite of metheg (**קְדַמִּיתָא**). **עֵיִתָּא** (see note 7) occurs once in the plural with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 4. 24).

**G nouns.** 13. **מִשְׁרוּקִיתָא** (Dan. 3. 5) is an inflected form of the *ī* group and **מִלְכּוֹתָא** (Dan. 2. 44) an example of the *ū* group.

<sup>1</sup> If reckoned a participle, this word comes under the rule of the B class.



# § 12. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with singular nouns)

1\*. For the usual forms of the suffixes in OJ and PTM see § 4 and for those of OTA see paradigm, p. 93.

2\*. אב, אח, and הם with pronominal suffixes are treated as follows:

אָחוּדָא	אָחוּדִי	אָחוּיִיךָ	אָחוּדְךָ	אָחִי	
		אָחוּדְךָ			
אָחוּדִיךָ	אָחוּדִיךָ	אָחוּיִיכִין	אָחוּדְכִין	אָחוּדָא	OJ
				אָחוּדִין	PTM

The suffixes הִי, הָא, נָן, and יִי are all unaccented. Regarding the first three see further § 13, note 2. יִי is said to have been preferred by the school of Sura and י (2 s. f.) by the school of Nehardea (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 62 f.) The former is given by Merx (Gen. 24. 23) and in Berliner's *Onkelos* (Gen. 20. 16, 38. 11), the latter in Praetorius (Judg. 14. 15, Josh. 2. 18) and Lagarde (2 Sam. 6. 21, 13. 17).

3. For אָבִי OJ uses אָבִיא (Gen. 44. 32, Judg. 14. 16, 1 Kings 2. 32, cf. Rom. 8. 15, ἀββᾶ). אָמִא 'my mother' is a similar form (Judg. 14. 16). Dalman explains the ending as originally *ā*, from an older *ai*, and so as really the pronominal suffix for 'my'. In Dan. 5. 13 אָבִי (MT) may originally have meant אָבִי (§ 2. 7), which is the reading of the supralinear MSS. אָבִי is sometimes contracted into אָבִי (Chrest. 18. 12).

**A nouns.** 4\*. The stems of masculine nouns with pronominal suffixes attached are generally formed according to the rules of § 10, with some slight modifications.

In the A class the distinction between מְלִכָא and לְבָרָא is paralleled by the distinction between מְלִכִי and לְבָרִי. Before heavy suffixes, words ending in a guttural or resh commonly use a stem of the קָטֵל type. E. g. אָרְעָהוֹן (Josh. 10. 42), בְּסָרְכוֹן (Judg. 8. 7), but also בְּסָרְכוֹן (Judg. 9. 2).

The statement of § 10, note 6, applies also to stems with suffixes attached (hence OJ בִּיתִּיה, OTA בִּיתִּיה). In Dan. 4. 1 the MSS. are divided between בִּיתִּי and בִּיתִּי. For לִית with suffixes see § 15, notes 2 and 3.

**B nouns.** 5\*. In the B class the stem vowel of the final syllable is retained before heavy suffixes and becomes vocal shewa before light suffixes. Examples: מִימְרֵהוֹן, מִימְרֵהוֹן, יְדִי (יְדֵהֶם OTA).

**C nouns.** 6\*. The supralinear orthography represented by בּוּלִיָּה is normal, although the vowel *u* is short (§ 2. 1). In OTA בּוּל with suffixes has *o* as its stem vowel (Dan. 2. 38, 7. 19), while all other words of this class have *u*.

**E nouns.** 7\*. In the E class words like מְלִי use their emphatic stem before all suffixes. In the *u* sub-class the later Yemenite MSS. sometimes make the vowel of the inflected stem *o*, as in MT (Dan. 4. 9). Examples: מְלִי, מְלִיָּהוֹן, מְלִי (Judg. 9. 11), עֲפִיָּה (Dan. 4. 9). Participle forms like סָנִי and nouns like מְשִׁתִּי and מְשִׁרִי either employ their emphatic stem (מְשִׁתִּי, מְשִׁרִי) or, more generally, are treated as plural nouns are (§ 13, note 7). For participles see further § 30, note 4.

**F nouns.** 8. Words from stems final yodh that belong to the F class (§ 10, note 20) like יְדִי (OJ) and פְּתִי (OTA), have suffixed forms like יְדִיָּה (Gen. 35. 18, Dalman) and פְּתִיָּה (Dan. 3. 1). Nouns like בּוּרִיָּה with suffixes are treated as plural nouns (§ 13, note 7).

**Feminine stems.** 9\*. Feminine nouns to which pronominal suffixes are attached may be arranged in three divisions, according as the termination of the emphatic singular is תָּה, תָּה, or תָּה.

(1) Nouns that use the ending תָּה join suffixes to the emphatic stem (אֲמַרְתִּי, אֲדַקְתִּיכֶן).

(2) In the case of nouns whose emphatic ending is תָּה, light suffixes are united to the emphatic stem and heavy suffixes to the construct stem (מִלְתִּי, מִלְתִּיהוֹן; מִלְתִּי, מִלְתִּיהוֹן; מִלְתִּי, מִלְתִּיהוֹן).

- (3) Nouns of the E, F, and G classes, whose emphatic ending is **אָ**, add suffixes to the emphatic or construct stems, which are the same (**מִלְכֹּתַי**, **מִנְתָּהוֹן**, **גְּלוּתִיָּה**). For examples of F nouns see § 29, note 9.

10. **שְׁנֵיתָהּ** (Dan. 6. 19) may be regarded as a noun of the C class, rather than as derived from an absolute form **שְׁנָא** (cf. § 11, note 4).

**Feminine suffixes.** 11. The supralinear MSS. of OJ generally write the suffixes of the 2 plur. masc. and of the 3 plur. masc. instead of the corresponding feminine forms (Dalman). The same substitution is often made in PTM.

### § 13. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with masc. plur. stems).

PLURAL SUFFIXES.		SINGULAR SUFFIXES.	
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ
יָנְ	נָא	אִי, יִ	יִ 1 com.
יָכְנְ	יָכְנְ	יָךְ, יָךְ	יָךְ 2 masc.
יָכְיִנְ	יָכְיִנְ	יָכִי, יָכִי	יָכִי, יָכִי fem.
			יָכִי, יָכִי
יָהֹנְ	יָהֹנְ	וָהִי, וָהִי	וָהִי 3 masc.
יָהִינְ	יָהִינְ	יָהִי, יָהִי, יָהִי	יָהִי fem.

**Suffix forms.** 1\*. **אִי**, **יָךְ**, and **יָכִי** are simply orthographical variants for **יִ**, **יָךְ**, and **יָכִי**. For **יָכִי** and **יָהִי** see § 2. 14. **נָא** is an alternative in OJ for **יִ** (see § 29, note 8).

2\*. The 'connective vowel' of these pronominal suffixes was originally the plural ending *ai*, which in a majority of cases has become *ē* or *ǣ* or *ā*. The connective *ō* of **וָהִי** is explained either as a nominative plural ending = *au* (Barth) or as a dissimilation from *ai* (Dalman). The terminations **כִי**, **הִי**, and **הִי** were originally used with singular as well as with plural stems (§ 4, note 2, § 12, note 2). The contracted forms of 3 sing. masc. and 3 sing. fem. are charac-



teristic of PTM.  $\text{ן}$  is a reduplicated ending found also in Syriac. The suffix  $\text{ן}$  is used by PTM in  $\text{רַבָּנָן}$  'our teachers'.

3. In OTA the K<sup>e</sup>thibh implies the earlier pronunciations  $\text{יָ}$ ,  $\text{יֵ}$ , and  $\text{יָ}$ , which the Q<sup>e</sup>re alters into  $\text{יָ}$ ,  $\text{יֵ}$ , and  $\text{יָ}$  respectively. See paradigm, p. 93.

4\*. It may be observed that several of the *ai* suffixes attached to plural stems are identical with the suffix forms attached to singular nouns ( $\text{יָ}$ ,  $\text{יֵ}$ ,  $\text{יָ}$ ). Unvocalized  $\text{יה}$  in PTM, when joined to a masc. plural stem means 'her', and to a singular stem 'his'.

**Plural stems.** 5\*. Most of the plural stems of § 10 are also used when pronominal suffixes are joined to plurals (e.g.  $\text{מַלְכֵינָא}$ ,  $\text{יָדֵי}$ ,  $\text{נֶפְרֵי}$ ). Only the  $\text{טָלִי}$  group of E nouns employs with suffixes as its plural stem a stem identical with that of the emphatic singular ( $\text{טָלִי}$ ,  $\text{טָלִיִּהוֹן}$ ). In other E nouns *ai* suffixes are joined directly to the ordinary plural stem ( $\text{סָנִי}$ ,  $\text{רַעִיִּהוֹן}$ ,  $\text{מִשְׁרִיִּהוֹן}$ ). In Dan. 2. 32 this treatment is extended to the form  $\text{חֲרוֹתֵי}$ , although presumably its uninflected singular is  $\text{חֲרִי}$ , as in OJ.

6. For 'they two' OJ always uses  $\text{חֲרוֹתֵיהוֹן}$  (Gen. 2. 25), instead of  $\text{חֲרוֹתֵיהוֹן}$ , and PTM sometimes has the same form (cf. § 8, note 15).

**Singular stems like plurals.** 7\*. The direct combination of pronominal suffixes with the singular ending  $\bar{e}$  of certain nouns of the E class, like  $\text{מִשְׁתֵּי}$  and  $\text{מִשְׁרֵי}$ , produces a set of *ai* suffixes, which are precisely the same as those attached to plural stems. This makes the singular and plural forms of such nouns frequently indistinguishable ( $\text{מִשְׁרֵיהוֹן}$ ,  $\text{מִשְׁתֵּיהוֹן}$ ). For the case of participles see § 30, note 4, and for infinitives § 29, note 8. Certain F nouns, like  $\text{פּוֹרְסֵי}$ , are also combined with suffixes in the manner of plural stems.

8.  $\text{מָרִי}$  'master', with suffixes employs a stem with consonantal yodh ( $\text{מָרִיִּהוֹן}$ , *Chrest.*, p. 23, note 1), or a contracted stem with the suffixes of § 12 ( $\text{מָרִיִּהוֹן}$ , Exod. 21. 29,  $\text{מָרִי}$ , Dan. 4. 16, 21) or a contracted stem with the suffixes of this section ( $\text{מָרוֹתֵי}$ , Exod. 21. 34).

In the K<sup>e</sup>thibh form מֵרָאִי (Dan. 4. 16, 21) אִי might represent *ai* (§ 2. 1) but probably אִ stands for consonantal yodh (§ 23, n. 9).

9\*. Prepositions that originally ended in *ē*, for that reason take *ai* suffixes (עָלַי, עָלֶיךָ, &c.), and other prepositions do so by analogy (בְּתַרִּי, קִדְמִי). In OTA עֲלֵינָא or עָלֵינָא (Ezra 4. 12, &c.), an old form of the suffix נָא, is preserved (cf. note 3).

**Fem. plur. suffixes.** 10. The observations of § 12, note 11, apply also to the suffixes added to plural stems.

### § 14\*. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with fem. plur. stems).

#### BORROWED *ai* SUFFIXES.

#### NORMAL SUFFIXES.

PTM	OJ	OJ and PTM	
	אִמְרָתִי	אִמְרָתְנָא OJ	אִמְרָתִי 1 com.
		אִמְרָתֵן PTM	
אִמְרָתִיכֹן	—	אִמְרָתְכוֹן	אִמְרָתְךָ 2 masc.
	אִמְרָתְךָ	—	אִמְרָתֶיךָ fem.
אִמְרָתִיהֹן	אִמְרָתוֹהִי	אִמְרָתְהֹן	אִמְרָתֶיהָ 3 masc.
	אִמְרָתְהָ	—	אִמְרָתֶיהָ fem.

The normal suffixes added to feminine plural stems are identical with those added to singular stems and the noun form employed is the construct or the emphatic stem, which are the same. The Hebrew practice of combining with feminine plural stems the suffixes appropriate to masc. plural stems, and derived from them (צִדְקוֹתֵי, &c.) is occasionally followed in OJ and PTM (for particulars see Table above). Dalman gives the order of frequency of occurrence of these borrowed *ai* suffixes in OJ as: (1) 3 sing. fem., (2) 1 sing., (3) 3 sing. masc. יָ for יֵ occurs only once or twice, in the Targum of Jonathan (Dalman, p. 205 f.). In Dan. 2. 23 some MSS. read אִבְרָהָתִי for אִבְרָהָתִי (§ 8, note 12), and this is the only exception to the general rule in OTA.

§ 15. **אֵית, לֵית, ETC.**

**Forms.** 1. Both in OJ (Lev. 11. 26) and PTM (25. ii. 12) **לֵא** occurs for **לֵית**. In OTA the forms used are **אֵיתִי** and **לֵא אֵיתִי**.

**Subject pronouns.** 2. In PTM the subject pronouns of these particles are in the nominative forms (e.g. **לֵית הוּא**). **לֵית** coalesces with the pronouns of the 1 sing. and 1 plur. and 3 plur. into the compounds **לֵינָא**, **לֵינָן**, and **לֵיתָנָן**.

3. In OJ the subject pronouns are generally expressed by suffixes, except in the 3 person plural. The suffixes are *ai* suffixes, because of the original ending of the particles (cf. § 13, note 7, and OTA **אֵיתִי**). In the 1 person singular the ending *ai* has become *ā* and the suffix adopts an accusative form (§ 36, note 1). Examples: **אֵיתִי, אֵיתוּהִי, אֵיתִיכֹן**. The inflected stem of **לֵית** has two forms, as in **לֵיתוּהִי** and **לֵיתוּהִי**. In the latter the shewa following yodh is vocal (Dalman, p. 108). The nominative form of the pronoun of the 3 person plural coalesces with **לֵית**, as in PTM (**לֵיתָנָן**). The nominatives of other persons are also sometimes used in OJ (Deut. 1. 9 **לֵית אָנָּה יָבֵל**).

4. In OTA the subject pronouns of **אֵיתִי** are expressed by means of suffixes of the *ai* form (**אֵיתִיכֹן**, &c.).

**Usages.** 5. **אֵית** and **לֵית** express 'there is' and 'there are' (there is not, there are not); e.g. **אֵית הָכָא חַר יְהוּדִי** 'there is here a Jew' (20. 9). They are regularly combined with **לִי, לָךְ, &c.**, to express the verb 'have'; e.g. **אֵין לֵית לָךְ פְּרִיטִין** 'if you have no money' (15. 9). Sometimes **אֵית** may be rendered by 'it is', e.g. **לֵא אֵית בְּחִילִי** 'it is not in my power' (25. ii. 12). In OJ **לֵית** is used absolutely, like Hebrew **אֵין** (Gen. 5. 24, 37. 30).

6. With a predicate, which may be a noun, adjective, or participle, these particles are equivalent to the English copula; e.g. **לֵית מֶלֶךְ** 'I am not a king' (20. 10), **לֵית בֵּיתָא הָרִין חָרֵב** 'this house will not be destroyed' (20. 12). A subject noun or pronoun follows **אֵית (לֵית)**, except in relative sentences or for the sake of emphasis.

Before prepositional phrases, where אִיּוֹת may also be translated 'is', it really has the sense of 'there is' or 'there exists', e.g. כָּל כִּי דִּיּוֹת בָּהּ 'everything that is (there is) in it' (26. 14; cf. Dan. 2. 30).

## § 16. VERBAL STEMS

### REFLEXIVE AND PASSIVE.

אִתְּחַבֵּיב Ithpael

אִתְּחַבֵּב Ithpaal

אִתְּחַבֵּב Ittaphal

### ACTIVE.

כָּתַב Pael

כָּתַב Pael

אִתְּחַבֵּב Aphel

Simple

Intensive

Causative

1\*. The stems having preformative *i/h* are reflexives, which serve also as passives.

2\*. The Pael, Aphel, and Ithpael of verbs final ה, ח, and ע take pathah for sere in the final syllable. For other variations caused by the influence of gutturals see § 23.

**Pael.** 3\*. Pael perfects with  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{u}$  in the final syllable, principally intransitive, occur especially in OJ. Examples: חָזַק 'be strong' (Gen. 1. 28) or 'be angry' (Gen. 4. 5), דָּחַל (Gen. 3. 10), קָרַיב (Gen. 12. 1), שָׁאַל (Judg. 1. 1), שָׁלִים (Gen. 15. 16), נָסַב and נָסִיב (Gen. 2. 21); דָּבַר and דָּמוּר (Gen. 2. 21).  $\bar{o}$  occurs for  $\bar{u}$  (מָרֹד, Kahle, p. 219) and  $\bar{z}$  for  $\bar{e}$ , especially in pause (Dalman, pp. 54 f., 257). In OTA  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{z}$  both occur, the latter generally in pause (קָרַב, שָׁאַל, חָזַק). Where MT has  $\bar{z}$  the supralinear MSS. sometimes have  $\bar{e}$  (Dan. 6. 21, וָעָק).

**Haphel.** 4\*. Haphels sometimes take the place of Aphels in PTM and OJ. The only examples in OJ are הִוָּרַע, הִימִין, and הוּפַע (Dalman). For OTA Haphels see note 11.

5. In הִימִין, which is borrowed from Hebrew, the final vowel is  $\bar{z}$  (Gen. 45. 26—Berliner) or  $\bar{e}$  (Gen. 15. 6—Berliner). Supralinear MSS. give both הִימִין (Dalman, p. 302, note 2) and הִימִין (Merx). In Dan. 6. 24 the sublinear vowel is  $\bar{z}$  and the supralinear is  $\bar{e}$ .



**Ith forms.** 6\*. The Ithpeel and Ithpaal of verbs initial dental and sibilant are modified as follows

(a) ת of the prefix is assimilated to a following ת, ט, or ד (thus אֲתִדְבֹּר becomes אֲדִבֹּר).

(b) ת changes places with a following sibilant and after צ and ז becomes ט and ד respectively. Examples: אֲשַׁתְּמַע, אֲצַטְרֹךְ, אֲזַדְרַע.

Ittaphal forms are not affected (אֲתַסְהֹר, Exod. 21. 29).

7. In PTM assimilation of ת to פ, ב, מ, נ and other consonants takes place occasionally. Examples: אֲתַפְסִיק = אֲתַפְסִיק, אֲתַבֵּר = אֲתַבֵּר (21. 4), אֲתַמְלִיךָ = אֲתַמְלִיךָ, אֲנַשְׁמַח = אֲנַשְׁמַח (28. 4). Dalman compares ἐφθαλά (Mark 7. 34) = אֲתַתְּחַח (§ 19, note 5). Cf. also *Chrest.* 4. 19, מִתְקַנֶּה = מִתְקַנֶּה.

8. In the supralinear vocalization an intrusive vowel frequently appears after preformative אַת, in the perfect and other tenses (אַתִּימַנַע).

**Shaphel, &c.** 9\*. Shaphel causative forms are found. The most frequent are שִׁבְּלִיל 'complete' (passive אֲשַׁתְּבִּלֵּל, Gen. 2. 1), שִׁעֲבִיד 'subdue' (Gen. 12. 5), שִׁיִּיב 'rescue' (Gen. 37. 21), שִׁיֵּץ 'finish' (Gen. 2. 2). See § 26, note 6.

10. Less common forms are the Pō'ēl and Pā'ēl (both = Arabic iii), with their passives (e.g. זָמִין, Gen. 24. 14). The Pōlēl, Pālēl, and Palpēl are formed from stems ע"י and ע"ע (§ 32, note 7, § 34, note 2).

**OTA.** 11. OTA instead of Ittaphals uses Hophals and a perfect passive Peal of the form Pe'il, especially in the 3 person (יְהִיבַת. Dan. 5. 28; יְהִיבִי, Ezra 5. 14; cf. אֲחִירַת, *Chrest.* 1. 8). Haphels for Aphels and preformative הַת for אַת are both normal in OTA, though not universal. With אֲשַׁתְּחַמֵּם (Dan. 4. 16) the Syriac forms having preformative אַת may be compared.

12. Where OJ has ē in the final syllable (Pael, Aphel, Ithpeel) OTA sometimes has ē and sometimes ī. It is difficult to make



a general statement on the subject, or to frame an accurate paradigm, because of the paucity of material. The following review includes all perfects, imperfects, imperatives, and participles of verbs other than those א"ל (§ 27), which agree with OJ, and ע"י and ע"ע (§§ 32 and 34), which exhibit the vowels  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{i}$  in nearly equal proportion. In the PAEL perfect, examples of  $\bar{i}$  number four, against one of  $\bar{e}$  (Dan. 6. 1); in the imperf. and partic. there is one example of both on each side, of the imperat. no cases at all. In the HAPHEL the perfect (three examples) and the imperative (two examples) have  $\bar{e}$  (excluding הִימִין, note 5), in the imperfect there are two cases of  $\bar{i}$  and two of  $\bar{e}$  (viz. הִתְחַבֵּר and הִתְחַת), in the participle two cases of  $\bar{i}$ . In the HITHP<sup>e</sup>EL there are no cases of the perfect or imperative, in the imperfect there are four examples of  $\bar{i}$  and one of  $\bar{e}$ , and in the participle two examples of  $\bar{e}$ . The extent of the influence exercised by pause on these forms is very uncertain. For intransitive Peal perfects see note 3.

## § 17. PERFECT TENSES

PAEL.		PeAL.	
PTM	OJ	OJ	PTM
	פְּתִיב	דְּמוּדָה	פְּתֵב 3 s. m.
	פְּתִיבַת	דְּמוּבַת	פְּתֵבַת f.
	פְּתִיבַת - תָּא	דְּמוּבַת - תָּא	פְּתֵבַת - תָּא 2 s. m.
	פְּתִיבָה	דְּמוּבָה	פְּתֵבָה f.
	פְּתִיבִית	דְּמוּבִית	פְּתֵבִית 1 sing.
פְּתִיבֹן	פְּתִיבוּ	דְּמוּבוּ	פְּתֵבֹן 3 pl. m.
פְּתִיבֻן	פְּתִיבֵא	דְּמוּבֵא	פְּתֵבֻן f.
	פְּתִיבֵתוֹן	דְּמוּבֵתוֹן	פְּתֵבֵתוֹן 2 pl. m.
	פְּתִיבֵתִין	דְּמוּבֵתִין	פְּתֵבֵתִין f.
פְּתִיבֻנָּן	פְּתִיבֵנָא	דְּמוּבֵנָא	פְּתֵבֻנָּן 1 plur.

**Table.** 1\*. The table represents the inflexion of all perfects, in  $\check{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ , and  $\bar{u}$ . The analogy of OTA (note 6) suggests that the supralinear 3 s. f. should be pronounced  $\text{בְּתַבְּת}$  rather than  $\text{בְּתַבֵּת}$  (§ 2. 6).

**Endings.** 2\*. The distinctive ending  $\text{נָא}$  is more common in OJ than in PTM (Dalman) and is predominant in OTA ( $\text{נָא}$ ).

3\*. The PTM plural endings  $\bar{u}n$  and  $\bar{a}n$  are borrowed from the imperf. tense, to which they properly belong.  $\bar{u}$  and  $\bar{a}$  also occur in PTM.

4. In PTM  $\text{יִנְ}$  occurs for  $\text{נְ}$  and  $\text{יִתְוִן}$  for  $\text{תְּוִן}$ , especially in Aphels. The  $\bar{e}$  may have been transferred from the final syllable of the Aphel (Pael) stem. Dalman suggests the influence of the forms of § 21, note 7. Examples:  $\text{אֶפְקִינְ}$  (25. 5),  $\text{אֶקְלִינְ}$  (23. 9). The form  $\text{אֶתְקִינְ}$  (19. ii. 9) =  $\text{אֶתְקִין} + \text{נְ}$ .

**Accent.** 5\*. In OJ only the 2 plur. terminations are accented; in OTA the 2 plur., 3 s. f. (Syriac type—see note 6) and the 1 sing.; in PTM at least the 2 and 3 plur. terminations and possibly, like OTA, the 3 s. f. and 1 sing.

**OTA.** 6. In OTA the 3 s. f. has two forms, one of the OJ type and the other resembling the Syriac form. The former occurs in two Peals ( $\text{בְּמִלָּת}$ ,  $\text{אֶמְרָת}$ ) and in the few cases there are of Hithpael ( $\text{הִתְנַוְּרָת}$ ) and Haphel ( $\text{הִדְקָת}$ ) forms. The latter occurs in three Peals ( $\text{סִלְקָת}$ ) and in two of three Hophals ( $\text{הִחְרַבָּת}$ ). In the Peal, Pael, and Hophal the 1 sing. has a form that resembles the Syriac ( $\text{יִדְעָת}$ ,  $\text{בְּרַכָּת}$ ). In the Haphel, besides  $\text{הִקִּימָת}$  (§ 33), only  $\text{הִשְׁבַּחָת}$  (Dan. 2. 25) occurs. The form resembles that of OJ and perhaps its vocalization, which is also that of a 3 s. f. perfect, should be  $\text{הִשְׁבַּחָת}$  (as  $\text{הִקִּימָת}$ ) or  $\text{הִשְׁבַּחָת}$  (as in supralinear MSS.). The supralinear MSS. of OTA have a larger proportion of OJ forms than MT in the 3 s. f. perfect, but they do not wholly eliminate the Syriac type. The absence of vowels in the texts of PTM leaves it uncertain how far they agree with the forms of OJ and how far with those of OTA.

**Syntax.** 7. In PTM the 2 pl. masc. form is always used for the 2 pl. fem. and frequently the 3 pl. m. for the 3 pl. f. (Dalman).

8. In PTM and OTA perfect tenses alternate with participles in narratives regarding the past (cf. § 21), and the use of successive sentences unconnected by conjunctions (asyndeton) is characteristic, especially of PTM. OJ follows the Hebrew text in its use of conjunctions. The perfect is used to express unfulfilled conditions after אִין (26. 18) and אֵלּוּ (21. 11, 24. 1, 27. 12) and sometimes also as the tense of the following apodosis (21. 11), but not generally (see § 22, note 2f).

### § 18. IMPERFECT TENSES

#### PAEL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR.	SING.
יִכְתְּבוּן	יִכְתִּיב
יִכְתְּבִין	יִכְתִּיב
יִכְתְּבוּן	יִכְתִּיב
יִכְתְּבִין	יִכְתִּיב
יִכְתְּבוּן	יִכְתִּיב

#### PeAL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR.	SING.	
יִכְתְּבוּן	יִכְתֹּב	3 masc.
יִכְתְּבִין	יִכְתֹּב	fem.
יִכְתְּבוּן	יִכְתֹּב	2 masc.
יִכְתְּבִין	יִכְתֹּב	fem.
יִכְתְּבוּן	יִכְתֹּב	1 m. and f.

**Stem vowels.** 1\*. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is rarely *e*, except in the case of verbs final aleph or yodh (יִעֲבִיר, יִחַי, יִתֵּן). Pathah is not usual in the imperf. Peal of intransitive verbs. For verbs final guttural see § 23. The occasional use of *ū* for *ō* and of *ī* for *ē* may originally have been limited to pausal forms, where it is found with special frequency (Deut. 16. 29).

2\*. The stem vowels of other imperf. than the Peal agree with the corresponding vowels of the perfect. Examples: יִתְכַּנֵּשׁ, יִשְׁכַּח, יִתְבַּחֵר.

**Preformative vowels.** 3\*. Supralinear preformative pathah (= seghol) in the 1 sing. imperf. Peal (as in Judg. 4. 7, 6. 15), except

in the case of some verbs initial guttural (§ 23), is a usage of late Yemenite MSS. In OTA preformative seghol occurs twice in MT (אֶקְרָא, אֶבְעֵא)<sup>1</sup> and hireq once (אֶנְדַּע).

4\*. In the supralinear MSS. published by Kahle the preformative vowel of the 1 sing. imperf. Pael is regularly אִי, and אִי is commonly written in the unvocalized texts of PTM. This orthography is to be regarded as a representation of ḥateph seghol (§ 2.8). אֶסְעֶרִם in the MT of Zech. 7.14 may be compared. The only 1 sing. imperf. Pael form in OTA is אֶחְיוֹא (Dan. 2.24).

5. After the final consonant of the preformative syllables of the imperf. Pael and Aphel an intrusive vowel (hireq) is sometimes indicated by the supralinear punctuation (e.g. יִשְׁלַטוּן = יִשְׁלֹטוּן, Deut. 15.6—Kahle p. 222). So also in the Ithpael (§ 16, note 8).

**Prefix ל.** 6. Forms of 3 s. m. imperf. with preformative ל (Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 565) are found in PTM (21. ii. 6). Examples: לִפְיָם, לִמּוֹת, לִיכּוֹל, לִהּוּי. They seem to occur generally in certain special types of sentence, e.g. in those expressing a purpose (after לְ and לִּי) or a wish (see Dalman, p. 264 f.). In OTA the forms לִּהּוּי, לִּהּוּי, and לִּהּוּי occur. They may have been preferred in order to avoid the use of forms resembling the divine name יהוה.

**OTA.** 7. In OTA the stem vowels of the imperf. Pael are ā (יִסְפֹּר), ā (יִלְפֹּשׁ), and ē (יִפְלֹ) and those of the imperf. Pael and Haphel ē or ī (§ 16, note 12). In the Haphel imperf. uncontracted forms are nearly always used (יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה). The plural ending ā (or ō), for ān, occurs twice (§ 29, note 10; § 35, note 5). See also notes 3, 4 and 6.

**Syntax.** 8. In PTM the uses of the imperfect tense are very strictly limited:

(1) It is a jussive (21. ii. 6, 26. 17, 27. 6) or imperative (with negative, 16. ii. 4, 19. ii. 7 f., 22. ii. 5; as a polite imperat., 24. ii. 7)

<sup>1</sup> In the supralinear MSS. probably hireq, as Dan. 5. 17 (Strack).

and expresses wishes, imprecations (26, last line, 28, second last line) and resolves (18. 9, 28. 6—see (4) below).

(2) It is used after  $\text{לְ}$  and  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  to express purpose (18. 13, 18. ii. 4, 21. 15), after  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  = lest (24. 3) and after  $\text{וְ}$  (or  $\text{וּלְ}$ ) in dependence upon verbs of asking (21. 2) and ordering (23. 5).

(3) It is used modally (21. 3), especially in questions (19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7, 24. ii. 2, 25. ii. 8). Cf. note 9 (3).

(4) It is a future tense only when there is an implication of indefiniteness (19. iii. 3 'that I should go out', 22. 1 'should be married', 28. 6,  $\text{כָּל דְּיִמַּר לִי בַר נָשָׂא אֶעֱבֹד}$  'everything that any one *may bid me* I will do'), in subordinate clauses.

9. In OJ the imperfect tense is used more extensively than in PTM. It is employed:

(1) As an imperative, jussive, and voluntative, expressing commands and exhortations (Gen. 6. 21, Exod. 22. 24, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 23. 8, 13, 1 Sam. 24. 13), and resolves (Gen. 6. 7, Josh. 24. 15, 1 Sam. 24. 11).

(2) After  $\text{וְ}$   $\text{בְּדִיל}$  in purpose clauses (Gen. 12. 13, 27. 25, Exod. 8. 6, 11. 7, Deut. 4. 1, 5. 16, 8. 1, 11. 8).

(3) As the usual equivalent of most Hebrew modal imperfects (to be rendered by may, might, would, should, must, &c.). 'Could' is expressed by an imperfect (2 Sam. 2. 22, 1 Kings 8. 5) or a participle (1 Kings 18. 10, Jer. 24. 2), or by  $\text{וְ}$   $\text{אִפְשָׁר}$  with an imperf. (Gen. 13. 16). 'Can' may also be expressed by  $\text{וְ}$   $\text{אִפְשָׁר}$  (Isai. 49. 15).

(4) As the ordinary future tense, for which PTM uses the participle. Examples: Gen. 2. 17, 3. 4, 49. 1, Exod. 4. 1, 6. 1, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 1. 3, 18, 3. 5, 10, 13, 18. 8, 23. 5, 1 Sam. 24. 21.

(5) In conditional sentences, following  $\text{אִם}$  (Gen. 18. 26, Exod. 22. 24, Josh. 23. 12) and  $\text{אֲרִי}$  (Hebrew  $\text{כִּי}$ ), Josh. 24. 20. A participle, however, is used to translate a Hebrew participle (Gen. 43. 4 f.).



(6) As a future in the past (preterite future)—Gen. 2. 19, Exod. 2. 4, 1 Sam. 22. 22, 2 Kings 13. 14—for which a participle (Gen. 43. 25, 1 Kings 7. 7) or עָתִידִיךָ with an imperf. (2 Kings 3. 27) are possible alternatives.

10. In OTA the imperfect is used as the ordinary future tense, as a jussive, and in the various modal senses. It is also used in conditional sentences, referring to the future (English indefinite present). It seldom refers to the present or the past.

11. עָתִידִי (‘ready’, ‘prepared’) or עָתִידִי לְ, with an infinitive, also expresses future time in OJ and PTM (Gen. 4. 10, 41. 28, Exod. 16. 23; Dalman, *Grammar*, p. 268 f.).

12. Sometimes an imperfect tense depends directly upon a governing verb, without יָ (§ 7, note 7) being prefixed (29. 21, רָבִנָּן הָכָא בָּעִין נִיצְלִי וַיִּיחֹז מְטָרָא ‘Our teachers here ask (that) I should pray, so that rain may fall’). Cf. בָּל סָמָא דְּמַלְתָּא נָפֹק לִי מִן הָכָא (19. iii. 3) ‘the only remedy of the affair is that I should go out from here’. For נִיצְלִי and נָפֹק see note 13.

13. In PTM the 1 plur. imperf. is often used for the 1 sing. impf. (19. iii. 3, 21. 1, 24. ii. 7, 29. 21; Dalman, p. 265 f.). Cf. Dan. 2. 36, and see § 21, note 14.

§ 19. IMPERATIVES

PAEL.		PeAL.		OJ
בְּתִיב	מְנַע	עֲבִיד	בְּתוּב	2 s. m.
בְּתִיבִי	מְנַעִי	עֲבִידִי	בְּתוּבִי	f.
בְּתִיבוּ	מְנַעוּ	עֲבִידוּ	בְּתוּבוּ	2 pl. m.
בְּתִיבָא	מְנַעָא	עֲבִידָא	בְּתוּבָא	f.
PTM				
בְּתִיב	מְנַע	עֲבִיד	בְּתוּב	2 s. m.
בְּתִיבִין	מְנַעִין	עֲבִידִין	בְּתוּבִין	f.
בְּתִיבוֹן	מְנַעוֹן	עֲבִידוֹן	בְּתוּבוֹן	2 pl. m.
בְּתִיבֹן	מְנַעֹן	עֲבִידֹן	בְּתוּבֹן	f.

1\*. In PTM the terminations are accented, in OJ unaccented.

2\*. The final stem vowel of an imperative form agrees generally with that of the corresponding imperfect tense (cf. § 18, note 1).

3\*. The MSS. of PTM indicate only *u* as the stem vowel of the inflected forms of the Peal imperatives. *ī* was probably in some cases the stem vowel, as well as *ā* (see § 25, note 5, and § 36, note 9). עֲבֹדוּ might have been given as the paradigm form.

4\*. In OJ and PTM the plural imperative of the derived stems is the same as their 3 plur. perf. and in some verbs the plural imperat. Peal is also ambiguous (מִנְעוּ, מְנַעוּ).

5. ἐφφαθά is understood by Dalman (p. 278, note 1) to be 2 plur. fem. imperative Ethpeel, having ת assimilated to פ (§ 16, note 7) and with the fem. plur. ending silent as in Syriac, the man's ears being addressed (in Dalman 'Augen' should be 'Ohren'). Accordingly אֶתְפַּתְחָא = אֶפְתַּח = ἐφφαθά (ת not being distinguished from פ in Galilee—Dalman, p. 57 f.).

OTA. 6. OTA imperatives agree in terminations and accentuation with the imperatives of OJ. The OTA forms corresponding to פְּתוּב and אֶכְתִּיב are פְּתַב (one example) and הִכְתִּיב (two examples).

## § 20. INFINITIVES

BAB	PTM	OJ	OJ	
	מְכַתֵּב		מְכַתֵּב	Peal
	מְכַתֹּב			
	מְכַתְּבָא			
פְּתוּבִי	מְכַתְּבָא	פְּתַבּוּת	פְּתַבָּא	Pael
אֶכְתוּבִי	מְכַתְּבָא	אֶכְתַּבּוּת	אֶכְתַּבָּא	Aphel
אֶתְפַּתְוּבִי	מִתְפַּתְּבָא	אֶתְפַּתְּבוּת	אֶתְפַּתְּבָא	Ithpeel
אֶתְפַּתְוּבִי	מִתְפַּתְּבָא	אֶתְפַּתְּבוּת	אֶתְפַּתְּבָא	Ithpaal
	מִתְכַּתְּבָא	אֶתְכַּתְּבוּת	אֶתְכַּתְּבָא	Ittaphal

**Orthography.** 1\*. The feminine ending of the infinitives of the derived stems in PTM is often represented by ה, and this orthography is usual in OTA.

**BAB.** 2. The forms under BAB, which are of Babylonian origin, occur occasionally in OJ (Judg. 3. 26) and PTM (23. 3).

**OJ.** 3\*. The OJ forms in *ūth* are used in the construct and with suffixes. Penultimate *ā* is unchangeable (קָרְמוּתִיהָ, Gen. 14. 17).

**PTM.** 4\*. The infinn. of the derived stems in PTM are inflected like feminine nouns (מִפְקֻתָּהוֹן, 16. ii. 8—infin. Aphel of נָפַק).

**OTA.** 5. In OTA the forms are generally those of OJ, but with preformative ה for א (see paradigm, p. 95). הִנְיָקַת (Ezra 4. 22), with construct ending as in PTM, is exceptional.

**Infin. Peal.** 6\*. In OJ and OTA infinn. Peal are inflected as nouns of the B class מְקַרְבֵּהוֹן, מְקַרְבֵּי (§ 12, note 5). In PTM the termination ה— (§ 36, note 8) is added to the Peal infinitive before suffixes (מְקַרְבֵּיָהּ).

**Syntax.** 7. The adverbial use of the Hebrew infin. absolute (as in Deut. 15. 4, 5, 8) is exactly reproduced by OJ, and the Peal infinitive form is then generally written מְקַתָּב in the supralinear MSS. (but cf. מְוַבֵּן in 2 Sam. 24. 24, Kahle, p. 28). The idiom is infrequent in PTM (Dalman, p. 280).

8. In OJ an infinitive dependent on a governing verb is nearly always preceded by ל, even when there is no preposition in the Hebrew text (Exod. 2. 3, Deut. 1. 19, 2. 25, Num. 22. 14, Judg. 8. 3, Isai. 1. 14). In OTA the use of ל is invariable. In PTM both constructions occur, with ל (19. ii. 11, 20. ii. 1 and 3, 22. ii. 6, 24. ii. 1 and 4, 26. 10), and without ל (19. ii. 10, 27. 2, 3, 6 and 8, 29. 7).

9. A Hebrew infinitive in the nominative case is generally replaced in OJ by הַ with an imperfect (Gen. 2. 18, 29. 19, Exod.

14. 12, Judg. 18. 19), or a perfect (Gen. 30. 15), or a partic. (Isai. 7. 13). Examples of the retention of the infin. occur in 1 Sam. 15. 22, 29. 6, Isai. 10. 7.

10. The Hebrew negative לֹא־לִי is represented in OJ by בְּרִיל לֹא־לִי (with an infin.), e.g. in Gen. 3. 11, 4. 15, Deut. 4. 21, 8. 11, Josh. 5. 6, Judg. 2. 23. In OTA לֹא־לִי with an infin. means 'must not be'.

11. A peculiarity of the syntax of OTA is that a single object noun, with no qualification, stands before a governing infin. (Dan. 3. 16, 5. 16, &c.). Cf. Dan. 2. 12, 3. 19, 5. 7, 7. 25, where the object follows. Objects such as generally follow a governing infin. may also precede the infin. (Dan. 2. 10, 3. 32, 5. 15, &c.) and do so freely in Ezra (4. 14, 5. 13, &c.).

## § 21. PARTICIPLES

APHEL.	PAEL.		PeAL.	
	PTM	OJ		
מְכַתֵּיב	מְכַתֵּיב	מְכַתֵּיב	פְּתִיב	active
מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	פְּתִיב	passive
ITTAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.		ITHPeEL.	
מְתַכַּתֵּב	מְתַכַּתֵּב		מְתַכַּתֵּב	

**Forms.** 1\*. Since verbs final guttural and resh have *ā* for *ē* in all final syllables אָמַר is the partic. Peal of אָמַר, and there is no distinction between the active and passive forms of the Pael and Aphel participles of such verbs. On the other hand, מְשִׁיִּיב (Deut. 3. 3, Judg. 12. 5) and מְשִׁיִּיב (from שִׁיִּיב, rescue) are passives as well as actives.

2\*. In OJ *ē* sometimes appears for final *ē* (so עָבִיד in 1 Kings 1. 6, Kahle, p. 28, and מְרַחֵם in Deut. 28. 50, Kahle, p. 225).

Pael particc. used as nouns always have  $\bar{z}$  in the supralinear punctuation (so פָּהִין, סָהִיר, פָּרִיק). In OTA  $\bar{e}$  is usual, but eight words have  $\bar{z}$  for  $\bar{e}$ , viz.:

יָבֵל, נָחַת, דָּלַק, נָזַק, מַמְלֵל, מַשְׁפֵּל, מַצֵּל, מַשְׁיֹב.

3\*. The particc. of intrans. verbs have the same forms as those of trans. verbs. Examples: דָּמִיָּה (also דָּמוּה) 'sleeping'; רָחִיין (also רָחִיין) 'trusting', 'hoping'; דָּחִיל (also דָּחול) 'fearing'.

4\*. Words of the form פָּתִיב may have an active sense. Examples: סָבִיר 'thinking'; דָּכִיר 'remembering'; תָּמִיָּה (? also תָּמִיָּה) 'wondering'.

5. The form מְכַתֵּב occurs occasionally in PTM and מְכַתֵּב (especially with verbs medial guttural) in OJ (Gen. 2. 9).

**Inflexions.** 6. Participles are inflected like nouns of the B class (§ 10, note 7). There is, therefore, no formal distinction between active and passive in the particc. Pael and Aphel when these are inflected (מְכַתֵּב, &c.). Forms like תְּמִיָּה (17. ii. 18), מְקִילִין (23. 8), יְתִיבָא (27. 2), and עֲבִירָא (28. 17) occur in the unvocalized texts of PTM and are read by Dalman as עֲבִירָא, &c. They do not occur in MSS. having a supralinear vocalization (Dalman, p. 311). Possibly yodh in such cases signifies vocal shewa (§ 2. 8).

7\*. Shortened forms of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons (אֵנָּה, אֵנָּה, אֵנָּה, and אֵנָּה) joined to particc. make a new tense form. Examples: יִדְעָנָה (Gen. 4. 9), רָכַבְתָּ (Berliner) or רָכַבְתָּ (Merx), in Num. 22. 30, וְרָעָתָ (Deut. 11. 10, Kahle, p. 16), יִדְעִינָה (25. ii. 8),<sup>1</sup> יִדְעִינָה (Judg. 5. 16). See also § 30, note 5.

8. Tense forms got by uniting particc. and perf. terminations also occur, e.g. מְצַלִּין (or מְצַלִּין, § 28, note 1), meaning 'they prayed' (Dalman, p. 284).

<sup>1</sup> So Dalman (cf. *Gram.*, p. 290); why not יִדְעִינָה?



**Syntax.** 9. In PTM participles take over much of the early usage of imperfect tenses. They serve as an ordinary future tense (15. 9, 16. 5—יְהִי, 20. 11, 23. ii. 8, 26. 3), and as the English indefinite present (= future) in conditional sentences (16. ii. 13), and they express promises (15. 10, 20. ii. 11) and general truths (23. 8). With עַד 'while' (14. ii. 4), and in an object sentence dependent on a past tense (16. ii. 11) they are used as past progressives and may sometimes be rendered by an English past tense (24. 2). The use of partic. in place of perfect tenses in narratives of past events is very characteristic (24. ii. 3, 25. ii. 2 ff., 27. 9—אָמַרְהָ).

10. In OJ particc. often represent Hebrew imperf. (or consecutive perf.), but not to the same extent as in PTM and not in the same uses. Acts customary in the present (Exod. 18. 15, Num. 11. 12, Deut. 1. 31 and 44, Judg. 7. 5, 10. 4, 1 Sam. 5. 5, 16. 7, 2 Kings 9. 20) or in the past (Gen. 29. 2, Num. 9. 20, Judg. 2. 19, 6. 5, 14. 10, 1 Sam. 1. 3, 6, 7, 2. 13 f. and 19) are expressed by particc. For the different idiom employed by PTM, see § 22, note 2 (c).

In questions understood of present time, a Hebrew imperf. is rendered in OJ by a participle (Gen. 32. 29 = 32. 30, 37. 15, Exod. 2. 13, 3. 3, Judg. 17. 9, 19. 17, 1 Sam. 1. 8, 25. 10, 28. 16).<sup>1</sup>

So, also, when the Hebrew imperf. denotes continuance of a state through a period in the past (Gen. 2. 25, Exod. 13. 22, 1 Sam. 1. 13, Isai. 10. 7) or the future (1 Sam. 1. 14).

11. In OTA the partic. is the ordinary equivalent of a present tense (Dan. 2. 8) and a very frequent alternative to a perfect in narratives of past events (Dan. 4. 4, Ezra 5. 3). It is also used as a progressive tense, descriptive of events in the present (Dan. 3. 25—מֵהִלְכִּין) or the past (Dan. 5. 5—בְּתִבְיָה), and in stating general

<sup>1</sup> In OJ an imperfect in questions is to be understood as a future (Gen. 16. 8), or in a modal sense (Gen. 27. 45, 1 Sam. 17. 8, 28. 15). Cf. § 18, note 9.

truths (Dan. 2. 21). Occasionally it alternates with the imperfect as a future tense (Dan. 4. 29).

12. When the pronoun subject of a partic. is in the third person, it is often left unexpressed (*Chrest.* 15. 11, 16. ii. 3, 20. 8, 24. 10, 27. 9; Dan. 4. 4, 4. 32).

13. A general statement with an indefinite subject is expressed by the plural of a partic. without an explicit subject. Examples: *Chrest.* 27. 11, 'men despise'; Ezra 6. 3, 'men sacrifice'; Dan. 4. 28, equivalent to a passive 'you are addressed'.

14. The 1 pers. plur. of the participle tense (note 7) may be used for the 1 pers. sing. (Dalman, p. 266). Cf. § 18, note 13.

15. Some verbs take as their complement a participle, instead of an infin. Examples: קיום (14. ii. 1), שָׂרִי (16. ii. 9, 20. 10), עֲבַד (19. 13). שָׂרִי ('begin') is used with partic. in the Peshitta, but with infin. in OJ (Gen. 6. 1, Deut. 2. 31, Judg. 10. 18, 13. 5, 1 Sam. 14. 35) and in OTA (Ezra 5. 2).

## § 22. COMPOUND TENSES

1\*. The tenses of the verb הָיָה 'become' form compound tenses with the participles of other verbs. These compound tenses occur frequently in PTM and are also a characteristic feature of OTA. They are seldom used by OJ.

2. In PTM the perfect of הָיָה joined to a present participle expresses:

(a) *A past progressive tense*, in sentences introduced by 'who' or 'when' (14. ii. 1, 15. ii. 1, 22. 7) and in circumstantial clauses (15. 6, 16. ii. 5). It describes a prolonged state or act in the past, where in English a past tense is a possible (22. 3, 27. ii. 1) or a preferable (16. ii. 5, 16. ii. 8) alternative. The verbs employed are very frequently intrans. verbs denoting state or condition. Examples: בֵּר הָיָה אָתִי 'when he was coming', וְהוּא הָיָה יֹדֵעַ 'now he

knew'. In the sentence וַהֲוֹת בְּכִיָּה גוֹ אֶסְטֶרְטָה וְאָמְרִית לָהּ מָה לִּי (29. 6) the compound tense possibly expresses a past inchoative, 'when she began weeping in the street, I asked her what was the matter'.

(b) *A pluperfect progressive tense*, in sentences dependent on a past tense (16. 6, 'he found that he had been selling').

(c) *A habit or custom*, in the present (21. 12) or the past (22. ii. 2, 23. ii. 7, 27. 1, 28. 6, 'he used to say').

(d) *An act repeated in the past* a number of times, by the same or by different persons (15. 3, 19, ii. 15—לְחַמֵּן הָיָה לְחַמֵּן אֶתִּי לְחַמֵּן הָיָה—21. 13, 22. 7).

(e) *A future in the past* (preterite future), 'he lay down beside one of them in order to learn what they would say' (17. ii. 4 f.).

(f) *A past conditional*, expressing 'would have' (22. 9, after הִיָּה, 24. 2, 27. 12, both in apodoses of conditional sentences, after unfulfilled conditions).

3. The participle tense of הָיָה (see § 21, note 7) may be used, instead of its perfect tense, in combination with the present participle of another verb. Examples: הָיִינוּ מְגִלִּיָּא 'I repeatedly uncovered' (22. 7), מָה הָיִינוּ מְסַעֲרֵי דַעְתִּי 'How could I have diverted my attention?' (29. 28). For the expression of 'could have' by a compound tense see also note 5.

4. In OTA the uses of the perfect compound tense, so far as they occur, are the same as in PTM. Examples: (a) Dan. 2. 31, 5. 19—הָיָה וַיַּעֲיֹן 'trembled', describing a prolonged state or condition; (c) Dan. 5. 19—הָיָה קָטַל 'he used to kill'; (d) Dan. 6. 11, three times in the day he knelt on his knees and prayed' (הָיָה פֹּרֵק) and Dan. 6. 5, 'they sought repeatedly to find an excuse' (הָיָה בִּעְיוֹן). In Dan. 6. 15 הָיָה מְשַׁתְּדֵּר may be classed under (a) or (d).

5\*. In OJ a participle or an imperfect tense is generally used where PTM would use a compound perfect tense. A compound

perfect is, however, sometimes used to describe an act or state extending over a period of time (Gen. 2. 6, 19, Josh. 4. 14, 'as they had revered') or repeated at intervals during a period of time (Gen. 31. 18). It is also used in the apodosis of conditional sentences (Judg. 11. 39, 'he would have redeemed') and to express 'could have' (Gen. 43. 7). It is of course the regular equivalent of the same compound tense in Hebrew (Gen. 4. 17, 37. 2, &c.).

6\*. The imperfect  $\text{אֵינִי}$  joined to the present participle of another verb is used (a) as a future progressive tense (Exod. 1. 16, after  $\text{כִּי}$ ), (b) to express future custom or habit (Dan. 2. 43), and (c) after  $\text{וְ}$  and  $\text{אֲזַיֵּן}$  to express result or effect (*Chrest.* 16. ii. 14, 18. 15, 20. 5; Dan. 6. 3, Ezra 6. 10, 7. 25 f.) or the substance of a command (22. ii. 3 f.). As an alternative to a simple jussive this tense perhaps implies emphasis or menace (*Chrest.* 19. ii. 17; cf. Ezra 6. 8 f.). For corresponding uses of the imperfect see § 18, note 8 (2).

7. A relative sentence contains a compound tense when there is a compound tense in the associated principal clause (Dan. 5. 19— $\text{אֵינִי הָיָה הָיָה}$ —Ezra 7. 26, *Chrest.* 19. ii. 15).

8\*.  $\text{הָיָה}$  joined to a passive participle provides the equivalent of a simple perfect passive (17. ii. 2, 25. ii. 10; Dan. 6. 4, Ezra 5. 11).  $\text{אֵינִי}$  with a passive participle is used as a jussive passive (Dan. 3. 18, Ezra 4. 12, 6. 8 f.); cf. note 6.

9. In PTM, as in Syriac, the perfect of any verb may be slightly strengthened by prefixing to it the perfect of  $\text{הָיָה}$  (Dalman, p. 257 f.).

10.  $\text{אֵינִי}$  in combination with an infinitive is sometimes equivalent to a compound tense (20. ii. 10— $\text{אֵינִי מְבַרֵּךְ מִן הַמֶּלֶךְ}$  'after (he) had conquered the city').



## § 23. INFLUENCE OF GUTTURALS UPON VERBAL FORMS

The influence of gutturals (ה, ח, ע) and of ר upon the vowels of verbal forms is not as extensive as in Hebrew, but, so far as it goes, is similar in character.

**1\*.** **Pathah** holds the place of normal sere in the final syllable of all parts of verbs final guttural or resh (Pael, Aphel, partic. P<sup>e</sup>al, &c.). In the final syllable of imperf. and imperatives P<sup>e</sup>al pathah is usual, but *ō* also occurs before final resh and final 'ayin, especially in PTM. In OTA pathah is used in all the cases covered by this section. The verbs of §§ 27, 32, and 34 are not included.

**2\*.** In the imperf. P<sup>e</sup>al **preformative pathah** is used in some verbs (e.g. יַחְבֹּט, יַעֲשֹׂק, יַעֲבִיר), but hireq is more common (Dalman). In OTA תַּעֲבִירָן (twice), יַחְלִפוּן (once) and יַעֲדֶה or תַּעֲדֶה (thrice), with the imperfect forms of הָיָה (תִּהְיֶה, &c.), are the only P<sup>e</sup>al imperf. of verbs initial guttural that occur. Dalman (page 93) makes the supralinear pathah of יַעֲבִיר equivalent to seghol (hence *Chrest.* 18. 4, 19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7).

**3\*.** Apparently the only **infin. with preformative pathah** is מַעֲבִיר. In OTA the form is מַעֲבִיר (twice) and Dalman follows this analogy in his *Dialektproben* (18. 14, 29. 7).

**4\*.** **Pathah furtive** is used in the pass. partic. P<sup>e</sup>al of verbs final guttural (שְׁלִיחַ). See also § 32, note 1.

**5\*.** An **intrusive pathah** separates the termination הַ from the stem of verbs final guttural. E. g. הִשְׁתַּבַּחְתָּ (Dan. 5. 27).

**6\*.** Vocal shewa following a guttural in the supralinear punctuation is to be pronounced as the sublinear **hateph** would be. Supralinear pathah in perf. like אָמַר signifies **hateph pathah** and sere in imperative forms like אִמַּר and עִיר signifies **hateph seghol**. See § 2. 7, 8.

**7\*.** An **intrusive hateph** (before vocal shewa an intrusive



pathah) is indicated in some MSS. of OJ after initial *y* and initial *h* in the imperf. and infin. forms of the Peal (Aphel, Shaphel). *יַעֲבִיר* and *מַעֲבִיר* are most frequently so treated. Cf. Judg. 12. 5 (*אֶעֱבֹר*) and 16. 24 (*מַחֲרִיב*, Hebraism?). In some MSS. after *y* an intrusive hireq is indicated, in harmony with the hireq of the preformative syllable (Dalman, p. 93; Kahle, p. 223). For forms with intrusive vowels in OTA see note 2.

8\*. In the intensives of verbs medial resh, in which the medial radical is not doubled, the preceding pathah is regularly lengthened into **compensation qames** and, similarly, sometimes before medial *y* or *a*. Examples: *קָאֵיב*, *נָעִיל*, *בָּרִיךְ*. In Dan. 5. 9 the sublinear reading is *מִתְבַּהֵּל* and the supralinear is *מִתְבַּהֵּל* (or *מִתְבַּהֵּל*).

9. *a* between two vowels was pronounced yodh (Dalman, p. 60), hence PTM in the inflected forms of the active partic. Peal of verbs medial aleph and in the intensive forms of *שָׂאֵל* and *שָׂאֵר* writes *y* for *a*. PTM *שָׂיִל* and *שָׂיֵר* = OJ *שָׂאֵל* (Gen. 43. 7—Dalman, p. 305) and *שָׂאֵר*. See also § 33, note 2.

§ 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

נָחַת	סָלַק, סָלִיק	נָסַב, נָסִיב	נָפַק	Peal	perf.
יִיחֹת	יָסַק	יָסַב	יָפֹק		imperf.
חֹת	סָק	סָב	פֹּק		imperat.
חֹתוּ	סָקוּ	סָבוּ	פֹּקוּ		
מִיחַת	מָסַק	מָסַב	מָפַק		infin.
מִיחֹת	מָסֹק	מָסֹב	מָפֹק		PTM
נָחִית	סָלִיק	נָסִיב	נָפִיק		partic.
אָחִית	אָסִיק		אָפִיק	Aphel	perf.
יָחִית	יָסִיק		יָפִיק		imperf.
אָחִית	אָסִיק		אָפִיק		imperat.
אָחֹתָא	אָסָקָא		אָפָקָא		infin.
מִחִית	מָסִיק		מָפִיק		partic.

**Assimilation.** 1\*. Assimilation of nun to the medial radical takes place in the impff. and inff. P<sup>al</sup> and in all the tenses of the Aphel and Ittaphal. Nun and its vowel (shewa) generally disappear in the imperat. P<sup>al</sup>.

2\*. In verbs medial ה and medial ץ assimilation of nun does not take place (Gen. 1. 17, אֲנַחֵרָא). Unassimilated forms of other verbs also occur (22. ii. 9, יִנְוֹרִי; Gen. 26. 11, יִנְוִיק).

3\*. The vocalization of verbs medial ה, according to the supra-linear punctuation, is shown above. Where pathah is written in the perfect Aphel (Gen. 2. 5, Merx), it may be understood to denote hāteph pathah (§ 2. 7).

**P<sup>al</sup> imperatt. and inffinn.** 4\*. The stem vowels of the imperative P<sup>al</sup> do not become vocal shewa in the inflected forms, as they do in Hebrew (see table above). Forms with nun preserved sometimes occur in PTM. סִיב (15. 9, 16. ii. 7) is an alternative to סִב.

5. Infinitives like מִפִּק are normal in OJ, and those like מִפּוֹק in PTM.

**Ithp<sup>el</sup>.** 6. Ithp<sup>el</sup> forms sometimes assimilate ה of the prefix to the following nun (§ 16, note 7).

סִלִּיק 7\*. In סִלִּיק *l* assimilates regressively, so that forms like those of verbs initial nun are produced. The infin. Haphel הִנְסִקָה (Dan. 6. 24) is a case of erroneous dissimilation (cf. § 10, note 12).

**OTA.** 8. So far as examples occur, notes 1–4 apply to OTA. The only verb medial guttural is נִחַת, whose nun is assimilated in the Haphel imperfect (נִחַת), imperative (Ezra 5. 15, אֲחַת or אִחַת) and partic. (מִנְחַתִּין), but not in the Hophal (הִנְחַת). Other verbs with unassimilated forms are נָתַן (imperf., inf.), נָפַק (Aphel), and נִזַּק (Aphel). There are two *ē* imperfects, יִפִּל (as Syriac; OJ יִפּוֹל) and יִנְחֵן or יִנְחִן. For the imperat. שִׁא see § 27, note 10, and for סִלִּק, note 7.

## § 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

APHEL.		P <sup>e</sup> AL.		
אֹכִיד	אֹל	אָמַר	אָכַל	perf.
יֹכִיד	יִיִל	יִימַר	יִיכֹל	imperf.
אֹכִיד	אִיִל, אִיִיל	אִימַר	אִיכֹל	imperat.
אֹכִידוּ	אִיִלוּ	אִימְרוּ	אִיכֹלוּ	OJ
אֹכִידוֹן	אִילוֹן	אִמְרוֹן	אִכְלוֹן	PTM
אֹכִדָּא	מִיִל	מִימַר	מִיכֹל	infin.
מֹכִיד	אִיִל	אָמַר	אָכִיל	partic.

1\*. In the imperf. and infin. P<sup>e</sup>al and in the Aphel א coalesces with the preformative vowel into  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  respectively, and the orthography is generally the same as that of verbs initial yodh (אֹכִיד, יֹכִיד, אִיכֹל).

P<sup>e</sup>al imperf. 2\*. The imperfects P<sup>e</sup>al, that have pathah as their stem vowel, are יִימַר, יִיכֹל, יִיִל, and יִיסֹר (but also יִיסֹר). The final stem vowel of the imperatives of these words is also pathah (in Hebrew holem). יִיכֹל does not belong to the group (unlike Hebrew יִאכֹל).

Imperat. 3\*. The supralinear imperatives אִימַר, אִיכֹל, &c., although pointed with šere, should probably be pronounced אָמַר, אָכֹל, &c. (§ 2. 8), as in OTA (אָמַר). In the supralinear MSS. of OJ אִיִיל (Exod. 33. 1, Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, pp. 5 and 15) and אִיִילוּ (Judg. 18. 19—Praetorius) both occur, and the plural form is אִיִילוּ (Josh. 2. 1, 18. 8). In the singular Berliner's *Onkelos* has both  $\bar{e}$  (Deut. 10. 11) and  $\bar{i}$  (Gen. 22. 2, Exod. 3. 16, 33. 1). In all these forms yodh presumably at first represented a hurried vowel (vocal shewa).

4\*. Some verbs (e.g. אֹל, אָתָא) use shortened imperatt. P<sup>e</sup>al as alternatives to the full forms (יִל, יִלוּ; תָּא, תָּו—in Dalman יִיל). For the ending  $\bar{o}$  in תָּו see § 29.

5\*. The stem vowel *i* of the imperat. plur. of PTM is indicated in the texts for some words and may have been the stem vowel of all words of this class. The analogy of the imperat. sing. with suffixes points to *i* or *u* (§ 36, note 9). Dalman's pointing אִלְוִן and אִלְוִן (23. 1) seems unlikely.

**Aphel.** 6\*. Of the Aphels with preformative *ṣere* that occur in PTM only אִיכִיל, הִימִין and some verbs having both initial א and final א, such as אָתָא, are recognized by Dalman (p. 298f.) as correct. The salutation אִישֵׁר 'hail' (*Chrest.* 29. 19) is also supposed to be an Aphel form (imperative). In OJ and OTA הִימִין (§ 16, note 5) and אִיתִי or אִיתִי (OTA הִיתִי, הִיתִי), from אָתָא, are used.

**Contracted forms.** 7. Contraction takes place in the imperf., infin., and partic. of אָלַף (יָלִיף, מָלַף, מָלִיף = יָאִלִיף, &c.). Contracted Ithpeels and Ithpaals also occur (e.g. אִתְּמַר = אִתְּמַר and אִתְּמַר = אִתְּמַר). There seems to be similar contraction of verbs initial yodh (in אִתְּלִיד, Gen. 4. 18, 26, 24. 15, Merx).

**Unusual forms.** 8. יִבַּר and יִלָּף (18. ii. 2) are used as alternative forms of אִבַּר and אִלָּף (cf. § 23, note 9). יִימָר (= יִימָר) is a Babylonian form, which occurs in PTM (16. 5). אִבְּלִנָּן (17. ii. 7) seems to have no parallel and may be an error for אִבְּלִינָן (§ 21, note 7) or אִבְּלִנָּא.

**OTA.** 9. The variations of OTA are as follows. Etymological aleph is generally written in the Peal imperf. and infin. (יִאֲבֵל, יִאֲמַר), except in the cases of מִתָּא and מִוָּא, from אָתָא and אָוָא (§ 27). In the Peal imperat. א is generally followed by ḥaṭeph seghol and in אִלָּל (Ezra 5. 15) *ṣere* is its equivalent (cf. note 3 and אִוָּה, Dan. 3. 22, = אִוָּה, pass. ptc. Peal). In Dan. 7. 5, where MT has אִבְּלִי, Strack's supralinear text reads אִבְּלִי, i.e. אִבְּלִי (§ 2. 8, 9). The Hophal. perf. הִוְבַּר (Dan. 7. 11) has the same form as the Hophal of verbs initial yodh. See also note 6 and the table of verbs, p. 96.

## § 26. VERBS INITIAL YODH AND WAW

APHEL.	PeAL.			
אֹמֵיב	יָרַת	יָתַב	יָדַע	יָכִיל perf.
	יָרִית	יָתִיב		
יֹמֵיב	יִירַת	יִיתִב	יִדַע	יִכּוֹל imperf.
אֹמֵיב	רַת	תִּיב	דַּע	— imperat.
אֹמֵיבו	רַתוּ	תִּיבו	דַּעוּ	
אֹמְבָא		מְתַב	מְדַע	מְכַל infin.
	מִירַת	מִיתִב	מִידַע	מִיכַל

**Peal prefixes.** 1\*. In the imperf. and infin. Peal yodh coalesces with the preformative vowel into (1)  $\bar{e}$  and (2)  $\bar{i}$  followed by the middle radical doubled. In the imperf. tense  $\bar{e}$  is unusual except before a medial guttural or resh (יִירַת, יִירֵב) and the punctuation of the MSS. cannot always be relied on. Examples: תִּיבֵשׁ (Ezek. 17. 10—Kahle, p. 46), יִיטֵב (Deut. 10. 13—Kahle, p. 15; Ezra 7. 18), גִּיכּוֹל (Josh. 9. 19, for נְכּוֹל 'we are able'), תִּיכּוֹלֶנּוּ (Josh. 24. 19, for תְּכּוֹלֶנּוּ 'you are able'). For OJ forms having shewa as their preformative vowel see note 2.

**Stem vowels.** 2. Imperff. Peal with  $\bar{e}$  as their stem vowel are יָתִיב (OTA יִתֵּב) and יִירֵב (PTM occasionally). In OJ imperf. forms like יִלִּיד (Gen. 3. 16) and יִירֵי (Deut. 15. 6) are found occasionally.

**Imperat.** 3\*. The imperatt. Peal are treated like the imperatt. of verbs initial nun. In PTM the initial radical is sometimes preserved (יִרֵב, יִרְבּוּ).

**Aphel.** 4\*. The preformative vowel of the Aphel is generally  $\bar{o}$  (אֹמֵיב, אֹמֵינִיק). Where  $\bar{e}$  occurs in the MSS. it is frequently due to textual error (Dalman, p. 307 f.). Dalman recognizes אֵילִיל in OJ and אֵיתִיב and אֵיתֵר as possibly correct in PTM אֵיכַל occurs in OTA (Ezra 5. 14, 7. 15).

5\*. In OJ הוֹדַע is used for אֹדַע and the uncontracted forms יִהוֹדַע



and **מהורע** more often, probably, than the contracted forms. Cf. § 16, note 4.

**Shaphel.** 6. The Shaphel **שִׁיב** (OTA **שִׁיב**) 'rescue' has no Peal in use (? = **שִׁעִיב**). **סִיבֵּל** (Ezra 6. 3) may be regarded as a causative of **יבֵּל**, with **ס** as in some Syriac forms. For **שִׁיץ** (? from **יצא**) see § 27, note 8.

**Ithpael.** 7. For elision of yodh in Ithpael forms see § 25, note 7.

**יִהב** 8. In PTM forms with elided **ה** are used (e.g. **יִהבִית** = **יְהִיבִית**, *Chrest.* 29. 8). In OJ and OTA the imperf. and infin. of **נתן** take the place of the corresponding parts of **יִהב** and are the only parts of **נתן** in use (see § 24, note 8). In PTM they are alternatives to **יִיִּהב** or **יִיִּהִב** and **מִיִּהב**.

**OTA.** 9. For a synopsis of the forms of OTA see table, p. 96. In Peal perf. and imperf. the stem vowel *i* corresponds to OJ *e* (**יִתֵּב**; **יִכֵּל**; **יִתֵּב**). In the imperf. Peal preformative *z* and *ē* both occur (**יִזְכֵּל**, **יִכְזֵּל**). **יִדַּע** is always, erroneously, dissimilated to **יִנְדַּע** (seven times). The normal Haphel form is like **הוֹתֵב** (cf. note 4) and a Hophal form (**הוֹסִיף**) occurs once. See also notes 6 and 8.

## § 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

ITTAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITHPH <sup>EL</sup> .	APH <sup>EL</sup> .	PAEL.	PeAL.	
<b>אֶתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>אֶתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>אֶתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>אֶחַזֵּי</b>	<b>חַזֵּי</b>	<b>חַזֵּא</b>	perf.
<b>אֶתְחַזֶּא</b>	<b>אֶתְחַזֶּא</b>	<b>אֶתְחַזֶּא</b>				
<b>יִתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>יִתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>יִתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>יִחַזֵּי</b>	<b>יִחַזֵּי</b>	<b>יִחַזֵּי</b>	imperf.
	<b>יִתְחַזֶּא</b>					
<b>אֶתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>אֶתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>אֶתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>אֶחַזֵּי</b>	<b>חַזֵּי</b>	<b>חַזֵּי</b>	imperat.
<b>אֶתְחַזֶּא</b>	<b>אֶתְחַזֶּא</b>	<b>אֶתְחַזֶּא</b>	<b>אֶחַזֶּא</b>	<b>חַזֶּא</b>	<b>מְחַזֵּי</b>	infin.
<b>מִתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>מִתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>מִתְחַזֵּי</b>	<b>מִחַזֵּי</b>	<b>מְחַזֵּי</b>		PTM
<b>מִתְחַזֶּי</b>	<b>מִתְחַזֶּי</b>	<b>מִתְחַזֶּי</b>	<b>מִחַזֶּי</b>	<b>מְחַזֶּי</b>	<b>חַזֵּי</b>	act. ptc.
<b>מִתְחַזֶּא</b>				<b>מְחַזֶּא</b>	<b>חַזֶּי</b>	pass. ptc.
				<b>מְחַזֵּי</b>		PTM

**Final vowels of stem.** 1\*. In the bare stem forms, without an inflexional ending, the final radical coalesces with the preceding vowel into  $\bar{z}$  or  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{a}$ .  $\bar{a}$  occurs only in the perfect Peal (3 s. m.) and in the OJ adverbial infin. (note 6).  $\bar{a}$  comes from *ai* (cf. § 13, note 2) and the forms of the paradigm in which it is found seem to be peculiar to OJ (see, however, note 6). In OJ and PTM the distinctive orthography  $\text{הָוִי}$  is more common, in this verb, than  $\text{הָוִי}$  (cf.  $\text{הָוִי}$ ).

2\*. Intransitive perfects Peal ending in  $\bar{z}$  in OJ are:  $\text{שָׁתִּי}$ ,  $\text{סָגִי}$ ,  $\text{הָרִי}$ ,  $\text{צָבִי}$ , &c.  $\text{שָׁתִּי}$  (or  $\text{אֲשָׁתִּי}$ , with prosthetic vowel) is the only form of the kind in PTM (Dalman). In OTA  $\text{שָׁתִּי}$  (or  $\text{אֲשָׁתִּי}$ ) and  $\text{צָבִי}$  occur.

3. Where  $\bar{z}$  appears in the final syllable of imperfects, it may be regarded as due to scribal error (Dalman).

4\*. In Yemenite MSS. Peal imperatt. of the form  $\text{הָוִי}$  are corrections of  $\text{הָוִי}$  under the influence of Hebrew (Diettrich, *ZATW.*, xx, p. 151).

**Infin. forms.** 5\*. In OJ the third radical of feminine infin. is written aleph but pronounced yodh (cf. § 23, note 9). The writing of yodh twice in forms like  $\text{מְחַוִּי}$ , &c., is a characteristic of unvocalized MSS.  $\text{ה}$  is used in PTM less frequently than  $\text{א}$  to denote the feminine ending of infinitives.

6. In OJ an infin. Peal of the form  $\text{מְחַוִּי}$  is used as an adverbial infin. (cf. § 20, note 7). The PTM form  $\text{מְחַוִּי}$  may have been pronounced  $\text{מְחַוִּי}$ , from  $\text{מְחַוִּי}$ . In 25. ii. 4 Dalman points  $\bar{a}$  in the final syllable ( $\text{לְמַחְמֵא}$ ).

**Pass. partic.** 7\*. The passive partic. Peal is sometimes pointed with final  $\bar{z}$  by supralinear MSS. (Deut. 25. 10, Josh. 7. 10).

**Shaphel.** 8. The Shaphel form  $\text{שִׁיבִי}$  'complete', may be derived from  $\text{שִׁיבִי}$ . For the  $\bar{e}$  of the preformative syllable see § 26, notes 4 and 6.

**OTA.** 9. The vocalic endings of the uninflected forms of the perff., imperff., and participles of OTA are  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{z}$ , and  $\bar{e}$ , as in

OJ (see table, p. 96). Final yodh is written when the vowel is  $\bar{i}$  (הִתְנַבֵּי) and in יִתְקַרֵּי (Dan. 5. 12). In other cases—when the final vowel is  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{e}$ —א or ה is written at the end of the word, without any precise distinction between them. Examples: בָּעָא and בָּעָה; יִבְעָא; מְבַעָא; בָּעָא and בָּעָה; בָּנָה. For the form אָוָה (Dan. 3. 22) see § 25, note 9. In Ezra 6. 15 the Kethibh is שִׁיִּצִּיא, the Qere שִׁיִּצִּי or שִׁצִּי.

10. There are three examples of a 2 s. m. imperat. in OTA, one Pael (מִנִּי, Ezra 7. 25, for מִנִּי) and two Peals (חִי, in Dan. 2. 4, &c., and שִׂא, Ezra 5. 15, from נִשָּׂא).

11. The third radical of the infinitives of the derived stems is always yodh in the Kethibh of MT (הִשְׁנִיָּה, &c). There are, however, supralinear and other MSS. in which aleph is read, as in OJ, by the Qere (see Strack's notes on Daniel 2. 10 and 6. 9).

12. The forms קָרִי (Ezra 4. 18, 23) and גָּלִי (Dan. 2. 30) or גָּלִי (Dan. 2. 19) and the plural רָמִי (Dan. 3. 21, 7. 9) are examples of perfect Peils (§ 16, note 11).

## § 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(perfect tenses)

APHEL.		PeAL.		PeAL.	
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ
	אָחִי		שָׁתִי		חָזָא 3 s. m.
אֲחֻיָּית	אָחִי־אָת	שְׁתִּיָּית	שָׁתִי־אָת		חָזָת f.
	אֲחֻיָּיתָא ת-		שְׁתִּי־אָת ת-		חָזִיתָא 2 s. m.
	אָחִיָּית		שָׁתִיָּית		חָזִית f.
	אֲחֻיָּיתִי ת-		שְׁתִּי־יָתִי ת-		חָזִיתִי 1 s. com.
אָחֻזֶן	אָחֻיָּיָא	שָׁתֶן	שָׁתִי־אָ	חָזֶן	חָזָא 3 pl. m.
אָחֻזֶן	אָחֻיָּיָה	—	שָׁתִי־אָה	חָזֶן	חָזָה f.
	אָחֻיָּיתֶן		שָׁתִי־תֶן		חָזִיתֶן 2 pl. m.
	אָחֻיָּיתֵן		שָׁתִי־תֵן		חָזִיתֵן f.
אָחֻיָּיָן	אָחֻיָּיָא	שָׁתִיָּנָא	שָׁתִי־נָא	חָזִיָּנָא	חָזִיָּנָא 1 pl. com.

**Endings.** 1\*. The OJ plural terminations י (3 masc.) and תן (2 masc.) are peculiar to this class of verbs and are used in the Peal only. Dalman makes the corresponding endings of PTM *ōn* and *tūn* (?) and extends the use of *ōn* to all perfects, in accordance with the analogy of OJ imperfects.

2\*. The distinctive endings נָה and תִּי occur frequently in OJ and to a less extent in PTM. In OTA the endings of the 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. are הָ and תִּי respectively, and there is no example of 2 s. f.

**3rd radical.** 3\*. Before all consonantal endings the third radical of these verbs coalesces with the preceding stem vowel into *ē* or *ī*, as shown in the table. In *ī* perfects the reading *ē*, for *ī*, by Yemenite MSS. is due to late correctors (Diettrich, *ZATW.*, vol. xx, p. 151 f.).

4\*. In the 3 s. f. of *ī* perfects and in the 3 pl. f. of all perfects, OJ retains consonantal aleph (pronounced as yodh) and PTM consonantal yodh (וְנִית, 18. 3; שְׁרִית, 21. ii. 7). There are two cases in OTA, both of which agree with PTM in writing yodh (אֶתְפְּרִית, Dan. 7. 15, and הִיתִית, Dan. 6. 18). In MT these two forms follow two different systems of punctuation. One of the MSS. used by Strack supplies the variant reading הִיתִית. In PTM אחוּיית and אחוּיין are unvocalized forms for אֶחָוִית (?) or אֶחָוִית and אֶחָוִין. In OJ נ appears also in the 3 pl. m. of all *ī* perfects.

5. In PTM forms of the 3 s. f. and 3 pl. m. perf. Peal, with consonantal yodh retained, sometimes occur. Presumably they were pronounced like הִוִּית and הִוִּינ respectively (§ 17). Dalman's pointing of הִמִּית (22. 19) and בִּעִית (27. 2) seems to follow the analogy of the OTA (Hophal) form הִיתִית (note 4). In OTA the Kethibh preserves one 3 s. f. perf. Peal with consonantal yodh (מִמִּית, Dan. 4. 21).

**OTA.** 6. In OTA before consonantal terminations the final syllable of the stem becomes *ī* in *ī* perfects (מִנִּית), *ai* in the 2 s. m.

of ordinary perff. Peal (חִזַּקְתָּ) and in בְּנִיתָהּ or בְּנִיתָהּ 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27), ē in other forms (חִזַּקְתָּ, בְּעִינָא). See also note 2.

7. In the 3 sing. fem. perf. Peal the forms חִזַּקְתָּ and חִזַּקְתָּ are written by MT without discrimination. Strack uniformly prints חִזַּקְתָּ. In other respects the 3 s. f. of perfect tenses agrees with PTM (see notes 4 and 5). There is no example in OTA of a pl. fem. perf.

8. In one 3 pl. m. form (חִזַּקְתֶּם, § 31, note 6) consonantal yodh is retained and the vocalization is that of the normal verb (§ 17). With this exception the 3 pl. m. is like that of OJ (בָּעוּ), with a variation of orthography in the ī perfects (שָׁנִי, אֲשַׁתִּי), which is also found in some MSS. of OJ (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 92). In Dan. 6. 17 and 6. 25 Strack's supralinear text reads חִזַּקְתֶּם. The only case of a 2 pl. m. is חִזַּקְתֶּם (Dan. 2. 8), for which supralinear MSS. read חִזַּקְתֶּם.

9. Baer's reading of seghol for šere in the final syllable of pausal imperff. Pael and Haphel (Dan. 2. 4, 7, 24 and 5. 12) is not accepted by Strack.

## § 29. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(imperfects, imperatives and infinitives)

PeAL.		
PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	IMPERFECT.
	PTM	OJ
יִחְזֹק		יִחְזֹק 3 masc.
יִחְזֹקִי		תִּחְזֹקִי fem.
תִּחְזֹקוּ		תִּחְזֹקוּ 2 masc.
תִּחְזֹקְנָא	תחזיין	תִּחְזֹן fem.
	תחזיי	
נִחְזֹק		אִחְזֹק I com.



PTM APHEL. OJ		PTM P <sup>e</sup> AL. OJ		IMPERATIVE.
	אֲחֹי		חֹי	2 s. m.
אֲחֹי	אֲחֹנָא	חֹי	חֹנָא	f.
אֲחֹנָן	אֲחֹנָן	חֹנָן	חֹנָן	2 pl. m.
—	—	—	חֹנָנָא	f.

**Imperff.** 1\*. The imperfect plur 1 masc. termination *ōn* is known from the MSS. of OJ and OTA and is extended by analogy to PTM. The 2. s. f. endings in PTM are read by Dalman (p. 339) as *ain* and *ai* respectively. תְּחִיִּי might be understood to signify תְּחִיִּי (§ 2. 1).

2\*. Consonantal yodh is retained by OJ and PTM in the 2 and 3 plur. fem. of all imperfects (cf. OTA לְהִיָּי, Dan. 5. 17). For the 2 s. f. in PTM see note 1.

3. Forms like אֲחֹי (given in Dalman's paradigm) sometimes occur for אֲחֹי (Gen. 24. 14, Merx), but are characteristic of the later Yemenite MSS. (§ 18, note 3).

**Imperat.** 4\*. The PTM imperative ending *ōn* is got by analogy from the *ō* of OJ and OTA. The 2 s. f. ending *ai* is shortened from *ain* and is the only ending of which Dalman gives examples from PTM. In OJ *ā* = *ai* (cf. § 27, note 1). The 2 plur. fem. form occurs in 2 Sam. 1. 24 (בְּכֹנָה).

5. Shortened imperatives (2 s. m.) are found in OJ. Examples: אֲשֶׁר (P<sup>e</sup>al—Gen. 24. 14), שִׁי (P<sup>e</sup>al—Gen. 24. 2), אֲעֶר or אֲעֶר (Aphel—Exod. 33. 5).

6\*. The 2 s. m. imperat. of the derived stems is the same as the 3 s. m. perf. in OJ and PTM, the 2 pl. m. of all stems is the same as 3 pl. m. perf. in PTM and the P<sup>e</sup>al imperat. 2 plur. is the same as the 3 plur. perf. in OJ. Cf. § 19, note 4.

**Infinn.** 7. Infinitives of the form מִשְׁתַּיִּי are found in PTM. Cf. Ezra 5. 9, מִבְּנִיָּה.

8. P<sup>e</sup>al infinitives with suffixes are treated in OJ like plural

nouns (§ 13, note 7), except that אֵ is used for *ai* as the suffix of the 1st singular and that הֵ is employed for אֵהָ. Examples: מְחַוֵּה, מְחַוֵּהּ. PTM has forms like מְחַמֵּינִיָּה or מְחַמֵּינִיָּה (see § 37, note 6). In OTA, stems with consonantal yodh are used (מְצַבֵּיָּה, Dan. 4. 32).

9. Infinitives of the derived stems with suffixes retain the third radical in OJ (אֲשַׁקְיִיתִיָּה, Gen. 24. 9) and are treated like feminine nouns of the F class (§ 12, note 9) in PTM (e. g. מְמַנֵּיָּתִיָּה from the Pael infinitive מְמַנֵּיָּה).

OTA. 10. The inflexions of imperfects and imperatt. in OTA, so far as examples are found, are the same as in OJ (cf. notes 1, 2, and 4). There is no case of a feminine imperat. nor of a 2 s. f. imperf. The form יִשְׁתַּנּוּ (Dan. 5. 10), with *ō* for *ōn*, may be a special jussive form (Strack). Cf. § 38, note 3. For the infinitives see notes 7 and 8.

## § 30. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(inflexion of participles)

PAEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	
<i>Active ptc.</i>	<i>Pass. ptc.</i>	<i>Act. ptc.</i>	
מְבַכֵּי	חֹנִי	חֹנִי	Sing. m.
מְבַכֵּיָּה	חֹנִיָּה	חֹנִיָּה	f.
מְבַכֵּי, מְבַכֵּיָּה	חֹנִי, חֹנִיָּה	חֹנִי, חֹנִיָּה	Plur. m.
מְבַכֵּיָּה	חֹנִיָּה	חֹנִיָּה	f.

1\*. In the feminine singular and plural of participles consonantal yodh is always retained and in the masc. plural the ending is *ain* in OTA and usually in PTM. In OJ the masc. plural ending is always *ān*, and this form also occurs in PTM.

2\*. Participles used as nouns employ the plural termination *ewān* (§ 8, note 11). Examples: רֹעִיָּה, from רָעָה 'shepherd', and אֲסִיָּה, from אָסָה 'physician'.

3\*. In the inflected forms, when the middle radical is a guttural or a doubled consonant, the supralinear MSS. regularly indicate vocal shewa before consonantal yodh (רַעֲיָא, מַחֲפִיָּן). Except in these cases vocal shewa is seldom represented (Dalman, p. 340), but should be pronounced in reading in accordance with the general analogy of participle forms, except in the singular fem. of the Peal passive partic. (cf. § 10, note 14).

4\*. Words like קָוִי with pronominal suffixes attached are inflected in three ways: (1) the suffixes may unite with the termination *ē* as with a plural ending (מַחֲוִהִי, Deut. 25. 11), or (2) the final radical yodh may be retained ((בְּרִיָּה, 25. ii. 8, from בְּרִי), or (3) instead of yodh, aleph may be used. In OJ קָנִי always retains א with suffixes (Gen. 14. 20, Exod. 20. 5, Deut. 5. 9, 7. 15, 30. 7, 2 Sam. 19. 7, 22. 18, Jer. 49. 7). So also שָׁנְאָה, Dan. 4. 16, which is the only example of a suffixed form of these participles in OTA.

5. Examples of tense forms like those of § 21, note 7, are הִינָּה (26. 6), fem. שְׂרִינָה (Dalman, p. 352), מִשְׁקִית (Deut. 11. 10—Kahle, p. 16), בָּעֵינָן (29. 25). The 1 sing. masc. of this tense is always wrongly pointed like הִינָּה in the Yemenite MSS.

§ 31.<sup>1</sup> הִלָּךְ, חִיָּא, הִוָּה, אָתָא

APHEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	APHEL.	PeAL.	
אָתִי	חִיָּא	הִוָּה	אִיתִי, אֵיתִי	אָתָא	perf.
			אִיתִיאוּ, אֵיתִיאוּ	אָתוּ	
יָחִי	יִיחִי	יָהִי, יֵהִי	יִיתִי	יִיתִי	imperf.
		יִהְיוּ, יֵהְיוּ	יִיתוּן	יִיתוּן	
	חִיָּי	הִוִּי	אִיתָא	אִיתָא	imperat.
			אִיתוּ	אִיתוּ	
אָתָא		מָהִי	אִיתָא	מִיתִי	infin.
			מִיתִיָּא		PTM
מִתִּי	חִיָּי	הִוִּי	מִיתִי	אָתִי	partic.

<sup>1</sup> To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

1. Several verbs, having stems with both initial aleph and final aleph or yodh, are treated like אָתָּא (אָבָא, אָזָא, אָסָא, אָפָא). Of these only אָתָּא has a shortened imperat. form (§ 25, note 4).

2. The imperf. and imperat. Peal and Aphel of אָתָּא are written alike, but are distinguished in pronunciation (see note 3). מִיָּתִי is both infin. Peal and partic. Aphel.

**Imperat.** 3. In the imperat. Peal the OJ supralinear form אִיתָּא is equivalent to אָתָּא (§ 25, note 3) and the final vowel represents an original *ai*. In PTM אִיתָּא (24. ii. 13), אָתָּא (אִיתָּא, 22. ii. 8), and תָּא (§ 25, note 4) are all used. In Berliner's *Onkelos*  $\bar{i}$  is written in אִיתָּא, אִיתוּ, &c. (cf. אִיָּל). The final vowel of אִיתָּא may be corrected into  $\check{a}$  (similarly in the case of אִיתָּא, 22. ii. 8).

4. The 2 s. f. imperat. Peal of אָתָּא is אִיתָּא (1 Kings 1. 12—Kahle, p. 29) or תָּיָא (*Chrest.* 29. 22). Cf. § 29, note 4. An alternative Aphel imper. 2 plur. masc. אִיתִּיָּא (Gen. 42. 34) is given by Dalman (p. 356).

5. *μαρναθά* (1 Cor. 16. 22) is explained by Dalman (p. 152, note 3) as being מָרְנָא תָּא 'Come, our Lord'. WH and von Soden both divide the word into *μαρὰν ἀθά*.

**OTA.** 6. For אָתָּא see table at the end of this section. The OTA passive forms הִיתָּת (Dan. 6. 18) and הִיתָּי (Dan. 3. 13) are explained as Hophal forms = הִיתָּת (3 s. f. perf.) and הִיתָּי (3 pl. m. perf.) respectively (Strack).

הָוָה. 7. In OJ the longer forms of the imperf. Peal of הָוָה are used only in the plural and (as alternatives) along with אִיהִי or אִהִי in the 1 sing. In PTM short and long forms are used indifferently and both יָהִי and יִי occur. For PTM לָהִי and OTA לָהִיָּא, &c., see § 18, note 6. The 3 sing. fem. impf. in OTA is הִתְהַוָּה or הִתְהַוָּה. No shortened forms occur in OTA.

8. In the MSS. published by Kahle the shortened forms of the Peal imperf. of הָוָה are written יָהִי and יִהִן, with the original preformative vowel retained (cf. § 2. 9).

חַיָּא. 9. In the verb חָיָא the medial radical yodh is generally suppressed in OJ and PTM in the imperfect (and infin.) Pael and in all parts of the Aphel. The same forms are used in Syriac. Cf. also יָהִי and Hebrew יָחִי. For OTA see table below.

הִלֵּךְ. 10. In OJ and OTA the impf. and infin. of הִלֵּךְ elide the medial *l* and assume the forms יִהְיֶה (plur. יִהְיֶינָה) and מְהִיךְ respectively (cf. סָלִיק, § 24, note 7). In the perfect and participle OJ uses only Pael forms (cf. OTA מְהִלֵּךְ). The imperf. and infin. Pael also sometimes occur in OJ.

HAPHEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	HAPHEL.	PeAL.	OTA
		הָוָה, הָוָה	הִיָּתִי	אָתָא, אָתָא	perf.
		הָוָה	הִיָּתִי	אָתָו	
		לְהָוָה			imperf.
		לְהָוָה			
	חַיָּי				imperat.
		הָוָה		אָתָו	
			הִיָּתִיָּה (הִיָּתִיָּה)	מְהִיךְ	infin.
מְחַיָּא				אָתָה	partic.

### § 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ו)

ITTAPHAL.	ITHPeEL.		APHEL.	PeAL.	
	PTM	OJ AND PTM			
אָתָקִים	אָתָקִים	אָתָקִים	אָקִים	קָם	perf.
אָתָקִים					PTM
יָתָקִים	יָתָקִים	יָתָקִים	יָקִים	יָקִים	imperf.
—	אָתָקִים	אָתָקִים	אָקִים	קִים	imperat.
—	—	אָתָקִים	אָקִים	מָקִים	infin.
		מְתָקִים	מְתָקִים	מָקִים	PTM
מְתָקִים	מְתָקִים	מְתָקִים	מְקִים	קָאִים	partic. act.
				קִים	partic. pass.



**Stem vowels.** 1. The stem vowels of the P<sup>ea</sup>l forms sometimes differ from those of the table. **Perfects** in  $\bar{i}$  are מִית 'die', סִיב 'be old', and רִיר 'spit'. **Imperfects** in  $\bar{e}$  are יָבִית, יָסִים, and יָדִין (or יָדִין) from בָּת 'pass the night', סָם 'place', and דָּן 'judge'. **Verbs final guttural** generally have  $\bar{u}$  in the imperf. and imperat. (e.g. יָנִיחַ), but שָׁע 'shake' has imperf. יָשִׁיעַ and imperat. שָׁע (plur. שָׁעוּ). Pathah furtive no doubt always followed  $\bar{u}$  in speech, whether written or not (§ 2. 5). Verbs with imperf. in  $\bar{e}$  have **imperatives** in  $\bar{i}$  (בִּית, Judg. 19. 6 and 9).

2\*. In supralinear MSS. the Aphel stem vowel  $\bar{e}$  (perf. and imperat.) is sometimes written  $\bar{i}$  and the stem vowel  $\bar{i}$  (imperf. and partic.) is sometimes written  $\bar{e}$ . The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Aphel with pronominal suffixes appears to be normally  $\bar{i}$  (אֶקִּימָהּ, Josh. 24. 26; Gen. 47. 7, Num. 27. 22; Dan. 3. 1, 5. 11).

**Preformative vowels.** 3. The preformative vowels of the P<sup>ea</sup>l are sometimes treated according to the analogy of verbs ע"ע (§ 34), so that forms like יָקִים and יִיחֹם, מָקָם and מִיחֹם occur. Examples: יָמוּת, Num. 35. 25 (Kahle, p. 9), יָחִיב, Jer. 18. 8 (Kahle, p. 38), יִיחֹם, Exod. 12. 23.

4\*. The preformative vowel of the imperf., imperat., infin., and partic. Aphel is often written  $\bar{a}$  in supralinear MSS. Examples: אָתִיב (Gen. 24. 5—Merx), אָנָּח (Judg. 1. 1), אָנָּח (2 Sam. 24. 16—Kahle, p. 27), אָקִים (2 Sam. 24. 18—Kahle, p. 27), מָנָח (Exod. 17. 11—Dalman, p. 324). In OTA preformative  $\bar{a}$  occurs in an imperfect (Dan. 2. 44) and a partic. (Dan. 5. 19) and in the uncontracted forms יָהֲקִים (Dan. 5. 21, 6. 16) and מְהַקִּים (Dan. 2. 21). In PTM the corresponding vowel is  $\bar{o}$ .

5\*. When supralinear pathah is written in the perfect and imperative Aphel instead of preformative vocal shewa, it may be understood to denote vocal shewa (§ 2. 7), rather than to indicate a form according to the analogy of verbs ע"ע (§ 34).

**Ithp<sup>ea</sup>l.** 6. In OJ the stem vowel of the Ithp<sup>ea</sup>l is sometimes

written *ā* (אֶתְנַח, Judg. 5. 20) and the ת of the preformative syllable may become ד before initial ר (hence אֶתְרֵן = אֶתְרֵן).

**Intensives.** 7\*. The intensive forms in use are קָיִים, קָיִים (OJ supralinear), קוֹיִם, קָיִים (OJ supralinear), and קָמִים. The passive of the Palpel is like מְטַלְטֵל (Gen. 4. 12) or מְטַלְטֵל (Gen. 4. 16).

**Verbs medial waw.** 8\*. Verbs having consonantal waw as their medial radical are חוּר, עוּר, צוּח, רוּח, רוּח 'rejoice', &c., also some verbs having both medial waw and final yodh, הוּח, שוּח, &c.

**OTA.** 9. In OTA both the stem vowels and the preformative vowels of the P<sup>e</sup>AL and HAPHEL are normally those of the table above. In the 3 s. m. pf. Haphel the stem vowel *ī* occurs as an alternative to *ē* (Dan. 2. 14, 6. 2) and in the participle (Dan. 2. 21) and the imperf. sing. (Dan. 2. 44, 5. 21, 6. 16) *ē* occurs as an alternative to *ī*. Preformative ḥaṭeph seghol occurs in one Haphel form in most (?) MSS. (הִקְיִמָּה, Dan. 5. 11). The stem vowel of the HITHP<sup>e</sup>EL is *ā* in one verb (יִתְשֹׁם) and *ī* in another (יִתְיוֹן). The only INTENSIVE FORMS are קִימָה (Dan. 6. 8), מְרוֹמִים (Dan. 4. 34) and הִתְרוֹמְמָה (Dan. 5. 23). There is one HOPHAL, הִקְיִמָּה (Dan. 7. 4, 5). The peculiar passive form שִׁמָּה (Dan. 6. 18) should perhaps be written שִׁמָּה (cf. § 16, note 11). See also notes 2 and 4.

### § 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (inflected forms)

APHEL.		P <sup>e</sup> AL.		
<i>Imperat.</i>	<i>Perfect.</i>	<i>Partic.</i>	<i>Perfect.</i>	
אָקִים	אָקִים	קָיִים, קָיִים	מִית	קָם
אָקִימִי	אָקִימָה	קִימָה	מִיתָה	קָמָה
	אָקִימָה-תָּא		מִיתָה-תָּא	קָמָה-תָּא
	...		...	...
אָקִימוּ	אָקִימוּ	קִימִין	מִיתוּ	קָמוּ
אָקִימָה	אָקִימָה	קִימָן	(מִיתָה ?)	קָמָה

**Peal perff.** 1\*. The forms of the table are those of the supra-linear punctuation. The stem vowel of the perf. Peal is  $\bar{a}$  only in the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. In Syriac and OTA  $\bar{a}$  is the stem vowel throughout the perf. Peal, and this pointing is used by Dalman in his *Dialektproben*. The inflected forms of מִית are treated like those of perfects in şere.

**Particc.** 2\*. In OJ (and sometimes in PTM) the uninflected participle Peal has the form of verbs medial aleph. In the inflected forms yodh is written for aleph in both OJ and PTM. In OTA the inflected forms have א in the Kethibh and י in the Qere, except in קִאֲמִיָּא (Dan. 7. 16). The inflected participle forms of verbs medial aleph retain א in OJ and sometimes in PTM (1 Sam. 8. 10, 1 Kings 2. 20; *Chrest.*, 20. 14). Cf. § 23, note 9, and Dalman, p. 305.

**OTA.** 3. In OTA the termination of the 1 s. pf. is  $\text{ܥܬܗ}$  (שָׁמַח, Ezra 6. 12; הִקְיִמָּת, Dan. 3. 14). For the form הִקְיִמָּי (Ezra 4. 12) see § 35, note 5.

## § 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ע)

APHEL.		PeAL.	
אֲעִיל	אֲפִיז	עֵל	פִּז (פִּז) perf.
יֲעִיל	יֲפִיז	יִיעוֹל	יִפּוֹז imperf.
אֲעִיל	אֲפִיז	עוֹל	פּוֹז imperat.
אֲעֲלֵא	אֲפֲזֵא	מִיעֵל	מִפּוֹז infin.
מִעִיל	מִפִּיז	עֲלִיל	פִּזִּיז partic. act.
מַעֵל	מַפִּיז	עֲלִיל	פִּזִּיז ptc. pass.

**Disyllabic stems.** 1\*. Disyllabic stems are used in the Peal participles, all intensive forms, Ithpeels, and Shaphels. Examples: מִלִּיל, אֲתַבִּיז, שִׁבְלִיל. See also § 35, note 4.

**2\*.** The intensive forms are of the types עֲלִיל, עוֹלִיל (especially PTM), עָלִיל (OJ), and עֲלֵעִיל. עֵייל is borrowed from the ע"י stems (§ 32). The use of עֲלִיל is a special feature of the supralinear vocalization. מְקַצֵּץ (25. 4) is the passive participle of this form.

**Stem vowels.** **3\*.** The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Peal, which is pathah in Syriac and OTA, is always  $\bar{a}$  in the supralinear vocalization of OJ, following the analogy of the verbs of § 32. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is either  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{a}$  (יִבְחוּ, יִיחֶם).

**Preform. vowels.** **4\*.** The imperf., imperat., and infin. Peal and all the tenses of the Aphel have the same forms as the corresponding parts of verbs initial nun (§ 24). In the imperf. and infin. Peal preformative  $\check{z}$  is lengthened to  $\bar{z}$  before an initial stem guttural, but is retained before initial resh (יִרְוֹק, Lev. 15. 8). This treatment is reversed in the only two cases that occur in OTA (מִחוּ, Dan. 4. 24; תִּרְעַ, Dan. 2. 40).

**Participles.** **5.** In PTM the participle form עֵייל (§ 32) is sometimes used in place of עֲלִיל. In OJ contracted plurals like עֲלִין, for עֲלִילִין, are a feature of supralinear texts. In OTA עֲלִין (Kethibh) is replaced by עֲלִין or עֲלִין or עֲלִין (Dan. 4. 4, 5. 8).

**6.** Aphel participles like מִיקַל and מִיצֵן in PTM are viewed as Hebraisms by Dalman.

**7.** מְעַלָּה (25. 5), from מַעַל, follows the ordinary rule for the inflexion of participles. For מְקַיֵּלִין (23. 8) see § 21, note 6.

**Borrowed forms.** **8\*.** The forms appropriate to ע"י stems (§ 32) are transferred to verbs of this class in the cases named in notes 2, 3, and 5, and in others also (e.g. in Judg. 6. 26 תִּקְוִין = תִּקְוִין).

**Ittaphal.** **9.** The Ittaphal forms are like אִתְּעַל and אִתְּחַל.

**OTA.** **10.** For the PeAL perf. see note 3, and for the only examples of imperf. infin. and partic. see notes 4 and 5. There are three types of INTENSIVES in OTA: מִלֵּל (three verbs), מְרַעַע (Dan. 2. 40), and אֲשַׁתּוּמֵם (Dan. 4. 16). In the HAPHEL, preformative

pathah becomes seghol before ע (הַעֲלָה, Dan. 5. 7). There are two cases of erroneously dissimilated Haphel forms (הִנְעֵל, Dan. 2. 25, 6. 19, and הִנְעֲלָה, Dan. 4. 3). Cf. § 26, note 9. For normal Haphel forms see table p. 96. A HOPHAL form of one verb is found (הַעֲלָה).

## § 35. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

(inflected forms)

APHEL.		PeAL.	
PERFECT.		PERFECT.	
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>
אַעֲלוּ	אַעִיל	עֲלוּ (עָלוּ)	עָל (עָל) 3 masc.
אַעֲלֶיךָ	אַעֲלִיתְּ	עֲלֶיךָ	עָלְתְּ fem.
אַעֲלֵהוּ	אַעֲלֵה-תָא	עֲלֵהוּ	עָלְתָּ-תָא 2 masc.
אַעֲלֵהוּ	אַעֲלֵהְּ	עֲלֵהֶן	עָלְתְּ fem.
אַעֲלֵהֶם	אַעֲלֵהֶם	עֲלֵהָ	עָלְתָּ 1 com.
IMPERFECT.		IMPERFECT.	
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>
יַעֲלוּ	יַעִיל	יַעֲלוּ	יַעֲלוּ 3 masc.
תַּעֲלוּ	תַּעִיל	תַּעֲלוּ	תַּעֲלוּ 2 masc.
נַעֲלוּ	נַעִיל	נַעֲלוּ	נַעֲלוּ 1 com.
IMPERATIVE.		IMPERATIVE.	
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>
אַעֲלוּ	אַעִיל	עֲלוּ	עָל 2 masc.
אַעֲלֶיךָ	אַעֲלִי	עֲלֶיךָ	עָלְיְ fem.

1\*. Following Dalman's precedent, and in accordance with the analogy of OTA, the final radical has been doubled in the above table, before vocalic endings, in the Peal perfect and imperative, but not in the Aphel. In Berliner's *Onkelos* doubling is not indicated in any tense.



2\*. In the 3 pl. m. perf. Peal the stem vowel  $\bar{a}$  (appropriate to  $\text{ע"ע}$  stems) is sometimes written in supralinear MSS. for  $\check{a}$ . The only example of a 3 plur. masc. perf. Peal in OTA is treated in this way ( $\text{קִרְיָ}$ , Dan. 2. 35). See also § 34, note 3.

3. Supralinear pathah in imperf. forms like  $\text{יִעֲלֶיךָ}$  (Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, p. 15) may be regarded as representing ḥaṭeph pathah (§ 2. 7).

4. Peal and Aphel forms like  $\text{רִקְקָה}$  (PTM),  $\text{עֲלִלָה}$  (Dan. 5. 10, Kethibh), and  $\text{תַּטִּילָל}$  (Dan. 4. 9), with repetition of the final radical, occur in PTM and OTA.

OTA. 5. The distinctive features of OTA are as follows: In the inflected forms of the imperative PeAL the stem vowel is  $\bar{o}$  ( $\text{נִדְרִי}$ , Dan. 4. 11, 20). In the perfect HOPHAL some MSS. double the final radical before the plural ending ( $\text{הִעֲלִי}$ , Dan. 5. 15), others do not. In HAPHEL forms, when the stem vowel ( $\bar{e}$ ) becomes vocal shewa, it is written ḥaṭeph seghol in some MSS. ( $\text{מִדְּקָה}$ , Dan. 7. 7, 19,  $\text{תִּדְּקֶנָּה}$ , Dan. 7. 23—Baer, Ginsburg, Strack). Perhaps  $\text{יְהִיטוּ}$  (Ezra 4. 12) was originally intended for  $\text{יְהִיטוּ}$  (cf. § 2. 8, 9). But the tense, termination (§ 18, note 7) and possibly stem vowel (cf. § 34, note 8) are all abnormal. There is no other example of the 3 plur. imperf. Haphel of an  $\text{ע"ע}$  verb in OTA. See also notes above, and for  $\text{הִדְּקָה}$  or  $\text{הִדְּקָה}$  (Dan. 2. 34, 45), § 17, note 6.

### § 36. VERBAL SUFFIXES

1\*. For the various forms of the accusative suffixes see pp. 90–91. In PTM the suffixes added to verbal stems ending in a consonant are those of § 4 and the suffixes added to stems ending in a vowel are presumably those of § 12, note 2, although the only possible vocalic stem is the 2 sing. fem. perf. (for the 2 s. m. and the 3 pl. see notes 3 and 5). In OJ the variations from the suffixes of §§ 4 and 12 are in the 1 singular,  $\text{יְ}$  or  $\text{יִ}$  for  $\bar{z}$ , and in the 3 plural,

where the independent pronoun אֲנִי is substituted for הוּ (וּ). For the forms of the suffixes added to the 3 s. f. perf. see note 6. In OJ, in agreement with the Hebrew text, the suffix of the 2 plural is rarely found. It seems never to occur with a 3 sing. masc. perf. stem.

**2\*.** In OJ אֲנִי is joined in writing to the verbal stem with which it is associated, א being omitted when the stem ends in a consonant and the form being reduced to נִי with the 3 s. f. perf. and to נִי in union with stems ending in a vowel (שָׁלַחְנִי, שָׁלַחְנִי, שָׁלַחְנִי). The forms of the verbal stems are not modified before אֲנִי except in the 1 s. perf., in which פָּתַיְתָה, פָּתַיְתָה and אֲכַתִּיבָה are used for פָּתַיְתָה, &c.

**3\*.** The difference between PTM and OJ in the endings of the 3 plur. perf. and 2 plur. imperat. involves a further difference in the suffixes attached to these forms. PTM uses the suffixes appropriate to the consonantal ending *ān*, while OJ uses those required by the vocalic ending *ā*. Examples: אֲפִקִּינִיָּה (25. ii. 2), אֲפִקִּינִיָּה (Gen. 19. 16).

**Perfect 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m.** **4.** For the stem forms of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Pael and Aphel with suffixes see paradigm, p. 90. Pael perfects are treated like Aphels. In the suffixed forms of the perfects Pael and Aphel the final stem vowel generally becomes vocal shewa both in the 3 sing. and the 3 plural (אֲפִקִּינִיָּה, Gen. 19. 16), although sometimes the orthography of PTM presumably indicates the retention of the full vowel (20. ii. 2, אֲמַלִּיכִינִיָּה, 21. I, אֲמַלִּיכִינִיָּה).

OJ plural forms are sometimes found in PTM (26. 8, נִצְחִינִיָּה). Sometimes the vowel points in Dalman's *Dialektproben* are unnecessarily those of OJ, instead of being those of PTM. In 21. ii. 7 יְהִיבִינִי should be יְהִיבִינִי, and in 28. 5 אֲרַפִּינִי should be אֲרַפִּינִי.

**2 sing. and 1 sing.** **5.** In OJ and PTM the forms of the 1 sing. perf. with suffixes are like פָּתַיְתָה, &c. The 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. com. with suffixes of the 3 s. m. or 3 pl. (where

ambiguity arises) are distinguished in OJ by the use of the form  $\text{פָּתַכְתָּ}$  for the 2 s. m. But ambiguous forms with suffixes of the 3 sing. fem. like  $\text{אֶשְׁכַּחֲתֶיהָ}$  'I have found her' (Gen. 38. 22) and 'thou hast found her' (Gen. 38. 23) are in use.  $\text{שָׁבַקְתָּנִי}$  (Gen. 31. 28) =  $\sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\chi\theta\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  (Matt. 27. 46), having a suffix of the first person, can only mean 'thou hast forsaken me'. In PTM the 2 s. m. is clearly distinguished from the 1 sing. com. by its employment of the termination *inn* (note 8) before suffixes ( $\text{שָׁבַקְתָּנִי}$ ,  $\text{אֶשְׁכַּחֲתֶנָּה}$ ). The 2 sing. fem. perf. is distinguished by its retention of the old termination  $\bar{i}$  before suffixes ( $\text{אֶשְׁכַּחֲתֶיהָ}$ ).

**3 s. f.** **6\*.** The 3 sing. fem. perf. with suffixes is sometimes written as if it were 1 sing. com. ( $\text{מְלַכְתִּיהָ}$  'she counselled him', Judg. 1. 14). All the cases noted by Praetorius (Judg. 1. 14) are forms in which the suffix is 3 s. m. The unambiguous forms are:  $\text{שָׁלַחְתָּנִי}$ ,  $\text{שָׁלַחְתָּנָא}$ ,  $\text{שָׁלַחְתָּכוֹן}$ ,  $\text{שָׁלַחְתָּנִי}$ ;  $\text{שָׁלַחְתָּהּ}$ ,  $\text{שָׁלַחְתִּיהָ}$ ,  $\text{שָׁלַחְתָּהּ}$ .

**1 plur. and 2 plur.** **7.** The suffixed stem of the 1 plur. perf. in OJ is the same as the independent stem, but written without  $\aleph$  ( $\text{שָׁלַחְתֶּנָּה}$ ). Instead of  $\text{שָׁלַחְתֶּנָּה}$  the form  $\text{שָׁלַחְתֶּנָּה}$  is used. In PTM the forms  $\text{שָׁלַחְתֶּנָּה}$ , &c., are used with suffixes. Dalman explains  $\text{ת}$  as derived from the accus. particle  $\text{יֵת}$  (§ 4, note 4). The suffixed stems of the 2 plur. masc. perf. are like  $\text{שָׁלַחְתֶּם$  in OJ (suffixes as § 12) and like  $\text{שָׁלַחְתֶּם}$  in PTM (suffixes as in § 4).

**Imperf. stems.** **8\*.** The stems of imperfects with suffixes are treated similarly in OJ and PTM. The syllable *inn* is added to the stems of all imperfects (cf. Hebrew  $\text{יַעֲבֹדֶנִּי}$ ), except in OJ before the 3 plur. masc. suffix. The suffixes are the same as those added to perfect stems. (See paradigm, p. 90 f.). The orthography  $\text{יִרְדְּפֶנִּי}$  for  $\text{יִרְדְּפֶנּוּ}$  and  $\text{יִרְדְּפֶנּוּ}$  for  $\text{יִרְדְּפֶנּוּ}$  in Yemenite MSS. is a Hebraism due to late correctors (Diettrich in *ZATW.* xx. 152).

**Imperat. stems.** **9.** In OJ singular imperative stems with suffixes remain unchanged and the suffixes are those of § 12, except in the cases of the 1 sing. and 3 plural. In PTM the Pael and

Aphel singular imperat. stems with suffixes are identical with the corresponding perfect stems. The Pael imperat. stem is distinguished from its perfect by the vowels *ī* or *ǝ* following the initial radical. These vowels are sometimes indicated in the MSS. by yodh and waw respectively.

The imperative plural stem in OJ is like **פְּתַבּוּ** and in PTM like **פְּתַבּוּן** (see paradigm, p. 91). Pael and Aphel perfect and imperative plural forms are generally not distinguishable. The Aphel imperat. in OJ occasionally retains its final stem vowel (e. g. **אַפְּקִיְהָא** 'bring her out' = **אַפְּקִיְהָא**).

**ע"ו stems.** 10\*. The forms of ע"ו verbs undergo no change when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

**Syntax.** 11. The use of an anticipative pronominal suffix before a definite accusative governed by a verb, an idiom characteristic of Syriac, is found occasionally in OJ (Gen. 39. 15, **שָׁבַקְתִּיהָ לְלִבְשִׁיהָ לְיָדַי** 'he left his garment beside me') and PTM (22. ii. 4, **פְּקָרִיהָ לְשִׁלְיָהָ** 'he ordered the messenger'; 21. 7, 22. ii. 6).

12. The subject of a dependent clause introduced by **דִּ** is also sometimes preceded by an anticipative pronoun (16. 6, **אֲשַׁבְּחֶיהָ דִּהָוָה מְזַבֵּין** 'he found that he had been selling'). It is idiomatic to put the subject of such a dependent clause into the principal sentence as an object (16. ii. 11, **חָמָא לָהּ הוּא דְנִבִּין דְקָאִים בְּתַרְיָה** 'he saw that the buyer was standing behind him').

13. Occasionally the object pronoun of the 3 plural is used indefinitely for 'some people' (28. 4, **חָמָתוֹן קָטְלִין** 'he saw some men killing' (mice); for the verbal stem **חָמַת** see § 37, note 1).

### § 37.<sup>1</sup> VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH **לָא** STEMS

**Perf. 3 s. m.** 1. In PTM the termination of 3 s. m. of all perfects with suffixes is treated like the ending of a feminine noun

<sup>1</sup> To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.



(cf. § 36, note 7). Examples: חָמַתִּיה and חָמַתִּיה (or חָמַתִּיה), פָּסִיתִיה, אִיתִיתִיה. In the derived stems these forms, when unvocalized, are the same as the 3 s. f. (note 4), and in the Peal חָמַתִּיה is always ambiguous, 'he saw him' or 'she saw him' (note 5).

**2.** In OJ the 3 s. m. perf. Peal with suffixes either retains (consonantal) א (חָזַקְתָּ, חָזַקְתָּ, &c.) or is treated as ending in a vowel (חָזַקְתָּ, חָזַקְתָּ). With אָנֹכִי the suffixed forms are like חָזַקְתָּ.

**3 s. m. and 3 pl. m.** **3.** In OJ the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Pael and Aphel with suffixes generally preserve the third radical yodh. Examples: אֶשְׂרִייה (Gen. 2. 15), אִיתִיה (Gen. 2. 22), אֶמְעִיני (Gen. 3. 13), אִיתִיה (Judg. 1. 7). With אָנֹכִי the ordinary stem is used (אֶחְזִיקֶנָּה).

In PTM the third radical yodh is sometimes retained both in Peal perfects (25. iii. 7, מְחַיִּינִיה = מְחַיִּינִיה), and in perfects of the derived stems (cf. notes 1 and 5).

**3 s. f.** **4.** In OJ and PTM the ending of the 3 s. f. of  $\bar{z}$  perfects (§ 27) is generally contracted to ית before suffixes. Examples: אֶשְׂקִיתִיה, פָּסִיתִיה (Judg. 4. 19), אִיתִיתִיה (Chrest. 18. 13). In PTM these are also imperative forms (note 7).

**Perf. stems.** **5.** In the other parts of the perfect tenses suffixes are generally added to the unchanged verbal stem. Examples: חָזַקְתִּיה (3 s. f.), חָזַקְתָּ (OJ 2 s. m), חָזַקְתִּיה (1 sing.), חָזַקְתָּ (OJ 3 pl. perf. Peal), חָזַקְתִּיה (PTM 3 pl.). For חָמַתִּיה (1 plur.) see § 36, note 7.

In some supralinear MSS. the ending of the 3 pl. m. pf. Peal with suffixes is written  $\bar{u}$  instead of  $\bar{o}$  (מְחַזְקֶנָּה, Judg. 1. 8; מְחַזְקֶנָּה, Judg. 1. 4).

**Impf. stems.** **6.** In all imperf. tenses the suffixed stem is made by adding נ to the ordinary stem (§ 36, note 8). Examples: יְחַזְקֶנָּה, יְחַזְקֶנָּה. When אָנֹכִי is used the forms are like that of יְחַזְקֶנָּה. In some supralinear MSS. the vowels before  $nn$  are  $i$  instead of  $\bar{e}$ , and  $\bar{u}$  instead of  $\bar{o}$  (יְחַזְקֶנָּה, יְחַזְקֶנָּה). Cf. OTA, § 38, note 5.



**Imperat. stems.** 7. In OJ imperatives 2 s. m. and 2 pl. m. stems are unchanged when suffixes are added (אֲחִינִי, חֲזֹוּהִי). In some MSS.  $\bar{z}$  is written for  $\bar{o}$  and forms with consonantal yodh are also found (אֲחִינִיָּה, Judg. 1. 24).

In PTM the termination  $\bar{z}$  of the 2 s. m. is treated like a feminine termination (23. ii. 7, אֲחִינִיָּה). 2 pl. m. forms are like אֲרַפֹּנוֹן (for which in 28. 5 Dalman puts אֲרַפְנוֹן).

**Participles.** 8. *m* is used with other suffixed stems than those named above, e. g. with participles (29. 7, מִפְּנִינִיָּה, i. e. מִפְּנִינִיָּה).

### § 38. VERBAL SUFFIXES IN OTA

**Suffix forms.** 1. The forms of the verbal suffixes in OTA and the treatment of the stems to which they are attached agree closely with the corresponding features of OJ. The accusative pronoun 'them' is not expressed by a suffix but by some one of three independent pronouns—הֵמָּו (eight times), הֵמָּן (three times), and אֵנִי (Dan. 6. 25). The suffixes attached to verbal stems vary according as the stem ends in a consonant or a vowel. In the former case, they are the same as the suffixes joined to nouns, except that נִי is 'me' and that אֵנִי is written for אֵנִי in the only case of its occurrence (Dan. 2. 23). In the latter case, the suffixes that actually occur are: נִי, י (2 s. m.), הִי (§ 12), אֵנִי, and כֹּן.

**Perf. stems.** 2. The stems of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. of all perfects are treated as in OJ (see OJ paradigm, p. 90). Examples: הִתְחַמָּה, הִשְׁלֵטָה, הִקְרִיבָה, הִתְחַמָּה.

The only examples of other parts of a perfect tense with suffixes are two of the 2 s. m. in Dan. 2. 23 (הִוְדַּעְתָּנִי and הִוְדַּעְתָּנִי) and one 1 sing of a אִלִּי verb (note 5).

**Imperf. stems.** 3. Imperfects with suffixes closely resemble those of OJ and PTM (§ 36, note 8). אֵ is combined with stems ending in a consonant and אִ with stems ending in a vowel. Exam-

ples: *יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָה*, *יִשְׁיֹבְנָה*, *יִתְנַנָּה*. With the suffix of the 2 pl. m. *נָ* is written, without daghesh, and in one case the preceding vowel is seghol (*יִשְׁיֹבְנָה*, Dan. 3. 15; *יִשְׁאֲלֶנָּה*, Ezra 7. 21). In the case of two imperfects used in a jussive sense the suffixes are added to the verbal stem without *nn* (*יִבְהֲלֶנָּה*, Dan. 4. 16; *יִבְהֲלִינָה*, Dan. 5. 10).

**Imperat. stems.** 4. The only imperatt. with suffixes in OTA are *הֶעֱלֵנִי* (Dan. 2. 24), *חֲבִלֵנִי* (Dan. 4. 20), and one from a *ל"א* verb (note 5). They agree with the forms of OJ (§ 36, note 9).

**ל"א verbs.** 5. There are seven cases in OTA of *ל"א* verbs with suffixes attached. The PERFECT form *בְּנִיתִהּ* 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27) is peculiar in having *ai* for *ē* (§ 28, note 6) and seghol for vocal shewa. Some MSS. read *בְּנִיתִהּ*. The other cases of perfect stems with suffixes (*בְּנִיתִי*, *שָׁנִיתִי*) agree with the practice of OJ (§ 37, notes 2 and 5).

In the 3 s. m. IMPERFECT before *נ* the *šere* of the independent form (*יִתְנַנֵּה*) is replaced by hireq (*יִתְנַנֵּי*, *יִתְנַנֶּה*) and in the plural *ō* is replaced by *u* (*יִתְנַנֻּנִי*, 2 pl. m. impf. Haphel). For similar forms in OJ see § 37, note 6.

The only *ל"א* IMPERATIVE form is the 2 pl. m. imperat. Haphel *הֲחִינִי* (Dan. 2. 6).

**ע"ו verbs.** 6. No change takes place in the stems of *ע"ו* verbs when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

PARADIGM OF VERB (OJ)

ITTAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITHP <sup>o</sup> EL	APHEL.	PAEL.	P <sup>o</sup> AL	P <sup>o</sup> AL
<i>Perfects.</i>						
אֶתְּכַתֵּב	אֶתְּכַתֵּב	אֶתְּכַתִּיב	אֶכְתִּיב	כְּתִיב	קְרִיב	כְּתֵב
אֶתְּכַתְּבַת	אֶתְּכַתְּבַת	אֶתְּכַתִּיבַת	אֶכְתִּיבַת	כְּתִיבַת	קְרִיבַת	כְּתִיבַת
אֶתְּכַתְּבֵנָא -תְּ	אֶתְּכַתְּבֵנָא -תְּ	אֶתְּכַתִּיבֵנָא -תְּ	אֶכְתִּיבֵנָא -תְּ	כְּתִיבֵנָא -תְּ	קְרִיבֵנָא -תְּ	כְּתִיבֵנָא -תְּ
אֶתְּכַתְּבֶיךָ	אֶתְּכַתְּבֶיךָ	אֶתְּכַתִּיבֶיךָ	אֶכְתִּיבֶיךָ	כְּתִיבֶיךָ	קְרִיבֶיךָ	כְּתִיבֶיךָ
אֶתְּכַתְּבֵיכִי	אֶתְּכַתְּבֵיכִי	אֶתְּכַתִּיבֵיכִי	אֶכְתִּיבֵיכִי	כְּתִיבֵיכִי	קְרִיבֵיכִי	כְּתִיבֵיכִי
אֶתְּכַתְּבוּ	אֶתְּכַתְּבוּ	אֶתְּכַתִּיבוּ	אֶכְתִּיבוּ	כְּתִיבוּ	קְרִיבוּ	כְּתִיבוּ
אֶתְּכַתְּבֵיכֶם	אֶתְּכַתְּבֵיכֶם	אֶתְּכַתִּיבֵיכֶם	אֶכְתִּיבֵיכֶם	כְּתִיבֵיכֶם	קְרִיבֵיכֶם	כְּתִיבֵיכֶם
אֶתְּכַתְּבוּנִי	אֶתְּכַתְּבוּנִי	אֶתְּכַתִּיבוּנִי	אֶכְתִּיבוּנִי	כְּתִיבוּנִי	קְרִיבוּנִי	כְּתִיבוּנִי
אֶתְּכַתְּבוּנֶיךָ	אֶתְּכַתְּבוּנֶיךָ	אֶתְּכַתִּיבוּנֶיךָ	אֶכְתִּיבוּנֶיךָ	כְּתִיבוּנֶיךָ	קְרִיבוּנֶיךָ	כְּתִיבוּנֶיךָ
אֶתְּכַתְּבוּנֵיכִי	אֶתְּכַתְּבוּנֵיכִי	אֶתְּכַתִּיבוּנֵיכִי	אֶכְתִּיבוּנֵיכִי	כְּתִיבוּנֵיכִי	קְרִיבוּנֵיכִי	כְּתִיבוּנֵיכִי
אֶתְּכַתְּבוּנָא	אֶתְּכַתְּבוּנָא	אֶתְּכַתִּיבוּנָא	אֶכְתִּיבוּנָא	כְּתִיבוּנָא	קְרִיבוּנָא	כְּתִיבוּנָא

*Imperfects.*

יִכְתוּב	יִקְרַב	יִכְתִּיב	יִכְתִּיב	יִתְּפֹתִיב	יִתְּפֹתִב	יִתְּכַתֵּב
תִּכְתוּב	תִּקְרַב	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּתְּפֹתִיב	תִּתְּפֹתִב	תִּתְּכַתֵּב
תִּכְתוּב	תִּקְרַב	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּתְּפֹתִיב	תִּתְּפֹתִב	תִּתְּכַתֵּב
תִּכְתִּיבֵּן	תִּקְרַבֵּן	תִּכְתִּיבֵּן	תִּכְתִּיבֵּן	תִּתְּפֹתֵיב	תִּתְּפֹתֵיב	תִּתְּכַתֵּיב

אָמאָב	אַקרב	אַכתיב	אַכתיב	אַתפתיב	אַתפתיב	אַתכתיב
יִכְתָּבוּ	יִקְרְבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִתְּכָבוּ	יִתְּכָבוּ	יִתְּכָבוּ
יִכְתָּבוּ	יִקְרְבוּ	יִכְתָּבוּ	יִכְתָּבוּ	יִתְּכָבוּ	יִתְּכָבוּ	יִתְּכָבוּ
תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּקְרְבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּתְּכָבוּ	תִּתְּכָבוּ	תִּתְּכָבוּ
תִּכְתָּבוּ	תִּקְרְבוּ	תִּכְתָּבוּ	תִּכְתָּבוּ	תִּתְּכָבוּ	תִּתְּכָבוּ	תִּתְּכָבוּ
נִכְתָּבוּ	נִקְרְבוּ	נִכְתָּבוּ	נִכְתָּבוּ	נִתְּכָבוּ	נִתְּכָבוּ	נִתְּכָבוּ

*Imperatives.*

קָרַב	פָּתִיב	אֶכְתִּיב	אֶתְפָּתִיב	אֶתְכָּתֵב
קָרְבִי	פָּתִיכִי	אֶכְתִּיכִי	אֶתְפָּתִיכִי	אֶתְכָּתִיכִי
קָרְבוֹ	פָּתִיבוֹ	אֶכְתִּיבוֹ	אֶתְפָּתִיבוֹ	אֶתְכָּתִיבוֹ
קָרְבָא	פָּתִיבָא	אֶכְתִּיבָא	אֶתְפָּתִיבָא	אֶתְכָּתִיבָא

*Infinitives.*

אֶתְּכֵבֶה	אֶתְּכֵבֶה	אֶתְּכֵבֶה	אֶתְּכֵבֶה	פֶּתֶכֶה	מִקְרֵב	OJ מִכְתֵּב
מִתְכֵבֶה	מִתְכֵבֶה	מִתְכֵבֶה	מִכְתֵּבֶה	מִכְתֵּבֶה		PTM מִכְתֵּב, מִכְתּוּב

*Participles.*

פְּתִיב	קָרִיב	מְכַתִּיב	מְכַתִּיב	מְכַתִּיב	מְכַתִּיב	מְכַתִּיב
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# PARADIGM OF VERBAL SUFFIXES (OJ AND PTM)

## Perfect.

APHEL.		P <sup>o</sup> AL.	APHEL.		P <sup>o</sup> AL.
3 plur. m.	PTM	3 plur. m.	3 sing. m.	PTM	3 sing. m.
אַרְדְּפוּנִי	רְדְּפוּנִי	רְדְּפוּנִי	אַרְדְּפִנִי	רְדְּפִי	רְדְּפִנִי
אַרְדְּפוּךָ	רְדְּפוּךָ	רְדְּפוּךָ	אַרְדְּפֶךָ		רְדְּפֶךָ
אַרְדְּפוּהִי	רְדְּפוּהִי	רְדְּפוּהִי	אַרְדְּפֶיהָ		רְדְּפֶיהָ
אַרְדְּפוּהָ	רְדְּפוּהָ	רְדְּפוּהָ	אַרְדְּפֶהָ		רְדְּפֶהָ
אַרְדְּפוּנָא	רְדְּפוּנָא	רְדְּפוּנָא	אַרְדְּפֶנָא	רְדְּפִן	רְדְּפֶנָא
—	—	—	—	—	—
אַרְדִּיפּוּנּוּן	רְדִּיפּוּנּוּן	רְדִּיפּוּנּוּן	אַרְדִּיפְּנּוּן	רְדִּפּוּהוּן	רְדִּפְּנּוּן

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## Imperfect.

3 plur. m.	PTM	3 plur. m.	3 sing. m.	PTM	3 sing. m.
יִרְדְּפוּנִי	יִרְדְּפִנִי	יִרְדְּפוּנִי	יִרְדְּפִנִי	יִרְדְּפִי	יִרְדְּפִנִי
יִרְדְּפוּךָ	יִרְדְּפֶךָ	יִרְדְּפוּךָ	יִרְדְּפֶךָ		יִרְדְּפֶךָ

יִרְדְּפוּנִי		יִרְדְּפוּנִי	יִרְדְּפִנִי		יִרְדְּפִנִי
יִרְדְּפוּהִי		יִרְדְּפוּהִי	יִרְדְּפֶיהָ		יִרְדְּפֶיהָ
יִרְדְּפוּהָ	יִרְדְּפִנָא	יִרְדְּפוּהָ	יִרְדְּפֶהָ	יִרְדְּפִנָא	יִרְדְּפֶהָ
יִרְדְּפוּנָא	יִרְדְּפִנָא	יִרְדְּפוּנָא	יִרְדְּפֶנָא	יִרְדְּפִנָא	יִרְדְּפֶנָא
יִרְדְּפוּנָא	יִרְדְּפִנָא	יִרְדְּפוּנָא	יִרְדְּפֶנָא	יִרְדְּפִנָא	יִרְדְּפֶנָא
יִרְדִּיפּוּנּוּן	יִרְדִּיפּוּנּוּן	יִרְדִּיפּוּנּוּן	יִרְדִּיפְּנּוּן	יִרְדִּפּוּהוּן	יִרְדִּפְּנּוּן

## Imperative.

2 plur. m.	PTM	2 plur. m.	2 sing. m.	PTM	2 sing. m.
אַרְדְּפוּנִי	רְדְּפוּנִי	רְדְּפוּנִי	אַרְדִּיפְּנִי	רְדְּפִי (ר')	רְדְּפִנִי
אַרְדְּפוּהִי	רְדְּפוּהִי	רְדְּפוּהִי	אַרְדִּיפְּהִי	רְדְּפִיהָ (ר')	רְדְּפֶהָ
אַרְדְּפוּהָ	רְדְּפוּהָ	רְדְּפוּהָ	אַרְדִּיפְּהָ	רְדְּפֶהָ (ר')	רְדְּפֶהָ
אַרְדְּפוּנָא	רְדְּפוּנָא	רְדְּפוּנָא	אַרְדִּיפְּנָא	רְדְּפִנָא (ר')	רְדְּפֶנָא
אַרְדִּיפּוּנּוּן	רְדִּיפּוּנּוּן	רְדִּיפּוּנּוּן	אַרְדִּיפְּנּוּן	רְדִּפּוּהוּן (ר')	רְדִּפְּנּוּן

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# OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

## Personal pronouns (nominatives).

אֲנִי, אַנְחָא	אֲנִי	1 com.
אַנְחִין	אַנְתָּ (אנחה)	2 masc.
—	—	fem.
אֲנִי, הִמּוֹ	הוּא	3 masc.
אֲנִי	הִיא	fem.

## Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

that	הַ, דִּכְּ, הוּא	this	דִּכְּ	masc.
—	דִּכְּ, דִּכְּ, —	—	דִּכְּ	fem.
those	אֵלֶּה, אֲנִין	these	אֵלֶּה, אֲלִין	
			אֵל (אדה)	

## Inflexion of Nouns.

שְׂאֵלָה	חִיָּה	יוֹם	Singular absolute.
שְׂאֵלַת	חִיּוֹת	יוֹם	construct.
שְׂאֵלְתָא	חִיּוֹתָא	יוֹמָא	emphatic.

שְׂאֵלִין	חִיִּין	יוֹמִין	Plural absolute.
שְׂאֵלַת	חִיּוֹת	יוֹמִי	construct.
שְׂאֵלְתָא	חִיּוֹתָא	יוֹמִיָא	emphatic.

## Nouns with suffixes.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.
שְׂאֵלְתִי	חִיּוֹתִי	חִיּוֹתִי	יוֹמִי	יוֹמִי 1 sing.
שְׂאֵלְתְּךָ	חִיּוֹתְךָ	חִיּוֹתְךָ	יוֹמְךָ (יומיד)	יוֹמְךָ 2 s. m.
				f.
שְׂאֵלְתֶּהּ	חִיּוֹתֶּהּ	חִיּוֹתֶּהּ	יוֹמוֹהִי	יוֹמֶהּ 3 s. m.
שְׂאֵלְתֶּם	חִיּוֹתֶם	חִיּוֹתֶם	יוֹמֶהּ (יומיה)	יוֹמֶם f.
שְׂאֵלְתֵנָּא	חִיּוֹתֵנָּא	חִיּוֹתֵנָּא	יוֹמֵנָּא (יומינא)	יוֹמֵנָּא 1 plur.
שְׂאֵלְתְּכוֹן	חִיּוֹתְכוֹן	חִיּוֹתְכוֹן	יוֹמֵיכוֹן	יוֹמְכוֹן - כֻּם 2 pl. m.
				f.
שְׂאֵלְתְּהוֹן	חִיּוֹתְהוֹן	חִיּוֹתְהוֹן	יוֹמֵהוֹן - הֵם	יוֹמְהוֹן - הֵם 3 pl. m.
שְׂאֵלְתְּהוֹן	חִיּוֹתְהוֹן	חִיּוֹתְהוֹן	יוֹמֵהוֹן	יוֹמְהוֹן f.



# OTA PARADIGM OF VERB

HOPHAL.	HITHPAAL.	HITHP <sup>o</sup> EL.	HAPHEL.	HAPHEL.	PAEL.	P <sup>o</sup> AL.	P <sup>o</sup> AL.	
								<i>Perfect.</i>
הִנָּחַת	הִתְפַּחַת	הִשְׁתַּחַח	הִשְׁפַּח	הִכְתַּח	פָּחַח <sup>1</sup>	קָרַח <sup>1</sup>	פָּחַח	3 s. m.
הִנָּחַתָּה							פָּחַחְתָּ	f.
		הִשְׁתַּחַחְתָּ		הִכְתַּחְתָּ		קָרַחְתָּ	פָּחַחְתָּ	
		הִשְׁתַּחַחְתָּ		הִכְתַּחְתָּ - תָּ		קָרַחְתָּ - תָּ	פָּחַחְתָּ - תָּ	2 s. m.
								f.
הִנָּחַתָּה			הִשְׁפַּחְתָּ		פָּחַחְתָּ		פָּחַחְתָּ	1 sing.
	הִתְפַּחַחוּ	הִשְׁתַּחַּחוּ	הִשְׁפַּחוּ	הִכְתַּחוּ	פָּחַחוּ	קָרַחוּ	פָּחַחוּ	3 pl. m.
		הִשְׁתַּחַּחְהוּ					פָּחַחְהוּ	f.
	הִתְפַּחַחוּ						פָּחַחְתֶּיךָ	2 pl. m.
								f.
			הִשְׁפַּחְנָא			קָרַחְנָא	פָּחַחְנָא	1 pl.
								<i>Imperfect.</i>
יִתְפַּחֵב	יִתְיַחֵב <sup>1</sup>	יִשְׁפַּח	יִהְיַחֵב <sup>1</sup>	יִהְיַחֵב <sup>1</sup>	(יִמְלֵל) <sup>1</sup>	יִקְרַח	יִכְתַּח	3 s. m.
יִתְפַּחֵבְתָּ	יִתְיַחֵבְתָּ <sup>1</sup>		יִהְיַחֵבְתָּ <sup>1</sup>	יִהְיַחֵבְתָּ <sup>1</sup>		יִקְרַחְתָּ	יִכְתַּחְתָּ	f.

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			יִתְפַּחֵבוּ	יִתְיַחֵבוּ	יִהְיַחֵבוּ	יִכְתַּבוּ	יִקְרַבוּ	יִתְקַרְבוּ	2 s. m.
									f.
									1 sing. <sup>2</sup>
			יִתְפַּחֵבוּ	יִתְיַחֵבוּ	יִהְיַחֵבוּ	יִכְתַּבוּ	יִקְרַבוּ	יִתְקַרְבוּ	3 pl. m.
									f.
			יִתְפַּחֵבוּ	יִתְיַחֵבוּ	יִהְיַחֵבוּ	יִכְתַּבוּ	יִקְרַבוּ	יִתְקַרְבוּ	2 pl. m.
									f.
					נִשְׁפַּח		נִקְרַח	נִכְתַּח	1 pl.
								<i>Imperative.</i>	
					הִכְתַּח		אִמְר	פָּחַח	2 s. m.
								פָּחַחְי	f.
					הִשְׁפַּחוּ	פָּחַחוּ	אִמְרוּ	פָּחַחוּ	2 pl. m.
								<i>Infinitive.</i>	
הִתְפַּחֵבְהוּ	הִתְיַחֵבְהוּ	הִשְׁפַּחְהוּ	הִכְתַּחְהוּ	הִכְתַּחוּ	פָּחַחוּ	מָקַרַח	מָכַחַח		
הִתְפַּחֵבוּ			הִכְתַּחוּ	הִכְתַּחוּ	פָּחַחוּ				
מִתְפַּחֵב			מִהְיַחֵב <sup>1</sup>	מִהְיַחֵב <sup>1</sup>	(מִמְלֵל) <sup>1</sup>		פָּחַח	Ptc. act.	
			מִהְיַחֵב <sup>1</sup>	מִהְיַחֵב <sup>1</sup>	(מִמְלֵל) <sup>1</sup>				
מִתְפַּחֵב	מִתְיַחֵב <sup>1</sup>		מִהְיַחֵב	מִהְיַחֵב	מָכַחַח		פָּחַחְי	Ptc. pass.	

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<sup>1</sup> See § 16, note 12.

<sup>2</sup> See § 18, notes 3 and 4.

# OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

## TABLE OF VERBS

ע"ע	ע"ו	ל"א	פ"ו	פ"י	פ"א	פ"נ	P <sup>o</sup> AL.	
על	קם	בָּעָא	יָדַע	יָתַב	אָמַר	נָפַק	פָּתַח	Perf.
(יִרְע)	יָקִים	יְבָעָא	יְנַדַּע	יְתַב	יֵאמַר	[יִפְק]	יִפְתַּח	Imperf.
	קִים		דַּע		אָמַר	פִּק	פָּתַח	Imperat.
(מַחֵן)		מְבָעָא			מֵאמַר	[מִפְק]	מְפָתַח	Infin.
	קָאם	בָּעָא	יָדַע		אָמַר	נָפַק	פָּתַח	Ptc. act.
	(רם)	בָּעָא					פָּתִיב	Ptc. pass.
HAPHEL.								
הִדַּק	הִקִּים	הִשָּׁנִי	הוֹדַע	הוֹתַב	הוֹכֵר		הִכְתַּב	Perf.
יִדַּק	יָקִים	יְהִשָּׁנָא	יְהוֹדַע				יְהִכְתַּב	Imperf.
הִדַּק							הִכְתַּב	Imperat.
הִדְקָה	הִקְמָה	הִשָּׁנְיָה	הוֹדְעָה		הוֹכְרָה	הִצָּלָה	הִכְתְּבָה	Infin.
מִהִדַּק	מִהִקִּים	מִהִשָּׁנָא					מִהִכְתַּב	Ptc. act.
מִדַּק	(מִגִּיחַ)					מִצָּל	מִכְתַּב	
							מִהִכְתַּב	Ptc. pass.